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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE SOUTHERN REIGN OF TERROR.

SCENES IN NEW ORLEANS.

From The Pittsburgh Gazette, Dec 11.

WE have been shown a letter from Mr. Harris, the agent of B. A. Fahnestock & Co., who was rudely expelled from New Orleans by a mob, for the sole offence of being a Northern man.

It is not true, as stated in *The Chronicle* yesterday, that Mr. Harris voted for Lincoln, nor did he boast that he had so voted and was glad of it. Mr. Harris did not vote at all, not being at home at the time of the election, but was a Bell man with strong Breckinridge proclivities.

The expulsion took place on the 27th ult. He had been in the city a day or two, attending to the business of the firm, and was sitting in his room at the hotel, when he was waited on by a committee, who compelled him to go down stairs, where he met an excited crowd, and was presented by the foreman of the committee, who said:

"Look at him, and see if he is the man you want." The mob shouted, "Yes, that's him, the d—d Abolitionist;" "Out with him;" "We'll fix him;" "Lynch him," etc.

But the speaker, or as he proved to be, the chairman of the Vigilance Committee, proceeded: "Mr. Harris is accused of being an Abolitionist—of being the agent of an abolition house—of having said he was glad of Lincoln's election—that he voted for him, and was proud of it. He is represented as being an unfit person to remain in this community. We will examine him" (a voice—"Examine the devil—hang him").

A Mr. Nathans was then presented as witness, who stated that he met him in Morrison's store, that he did not deny being a Black Republican, and that he said:

"Let the South secede, nobody cares; the North can get along very well without the South, and he for one wanted to show them who will suffer the most; and he wasn't afraid of the South—no, indeed, not he."

Mr. Harris denied all these allegations, sent for Mr. Morrison to show that they were not true, and made a speech to the crowd, in which he admitted that he was in favor of secession, as the quickest way of settling the difficulty. When Mr. Morrison arrived, the crowd was so great that the proprietor of the hotel insisted that the committee should go with Morrison and Harris to Harris's room, and report the result of their investigation to the crowd. This was done, and for the rest, we leave Mr. H. to tell his own story.

"Here I threw open for their inspection some of my private correspondence, letters of introduction, etc., several of which letters being from men well known to the Committee, they expressed their entire satisfaction, and in fact my position gained the full *approval of my accuser, Mr. Nathans.* All of Mr. Morrison's testimony was also in my favor. The report of the Committee was: 'Harris is all right.' But that wouldn't do. Harris must leave town, to say the least about it—and a majority were in favor of lynching him under the circumstances. I was therefore told: 'The cars leave in 40 or 45 minutes; can you get ready?' I said 'Yes,' and at once packed my trunk. * * * A carriage was ordered at an alley, in the rear of the hotel, and I smuggled through the back way, unknown to the crowd. When once in the carriage, the horse galloped at top speed to the depot, arriving just in time to get aboard the cars. As the train moved off, I felt some relief, as may be supposed."

We learn that several other Pittsburghers have been expelled in like manner. In fact, New Orleans seems to be given up to the dominion of the mob, who hunt out every Northerner who arrives, and compel him to leave.

AN INFAMOUS OUTRAGE ON AN IRISH FAMILY.

From The N. O. True Delta, Dec. 13.

The readers of *The True Delta* are aware that a gang of irresponsible and worthless fellows, a short time ago, got up a bogus Vigilance Committee in this city, with no other object in view than levying black mail on timid and respectable citizens, and all under the guise of Southern rights, Southern patriotism, etc. Some of the country parishes—locations where sound-thinking people would expect to be free from the debris of ruffianism that always afflicts large cities—have their ruffians, too, who are ready to take advantage of any excitement, political or religious, to revenge private grievances, whether fancied or real—to rob a church or a hen-roost if they can do so with impunity during the ruling excitement of the hour. We are reluctantly compelled to notice a case in point (the most infamous yet recorded) which occurred in the adjoining parish of St. Charles a few days ago.

An Irish family, Mr. and Mrs. Kehoe, live near the line of the Opelousas Railroad, a short distance from Boutté station. Mrs. Kehoe was formerly the wife of a Mr. Cunningham, a well-known levee contractor, who died in, we believe, 1853. She has been a resident of the parish of St. Charles some thirteen years, and is well known to every respectable planter in that parish. Her present husband, Mr. Kehoe, has also been a resident of the parish for the last seven years, and is known to be a decent, honest, and industrious man. Though owning themselves a quarter section of land, they have been living for a few years past on land in the vicinity of Boutte station, owned by a well-known gentleman of this city, who has permitted them to occupy it, and who has afforded them every facility to make the most they could out of it by their toil and industry, only asking of them to see that the valuable timber on it was not destroyed and stolen by the horde of land pirates that flock to favorite spots on new railroad lines.

They, the Kehoe family, acted faithfully their part, and the owner of the property was well satisfied. Their success in life, however, did not suit the views of those who desire to reap without sowing. A system of petty persecution was commenced on them some time ago; their cattle were mutilated or killed, their hogs and chickens stolen, and every device used to drive them from the property, in order that the owner of it, whose business is in this city, would be forced to lease it to some of the gang in the vicinity, who could at their leisure rob him by cutting and selling all the valuable timber on it. All these threats and petty persecutions were, however, unavailing to drive the Kehoe family from a homestead they had improved by their unremitting industry. The present excitement presented a good excuse to the scoundrels engaged in this infamous outrage. Here is the first step:

"BOUTTE STATION, Parish of St. Charles, }
Dec. 9, 1860.

"T. D. HARPER, Esq., New Orleans: I am requested by the Mounted Minute Guards of St. Charles, to notify you that your property will be vacant in forty-eight hours from this date, and if you want your property to be protected, you must put in a tenant suitable to the views of the neighborhood. Yours, respectfully, J. B. FLEITAS, Secretary."

The above letter, though dated on the 9th, was not placed in the post office of this city until the 11th, and was only received by Mr. Harper yesterday, the 12th. Mr. Harper, feeling naturally indignant at receiving such a document, made his preparations to leave for his place in the parish of St. Charles that morning. In the meantime, however, this "Vigilance Committee" at the Boutté station, took good care not to wait for Mr. Harper's arrival. They sent, on the 7th inst., the following letter to Mr. Kehoe:

"BOUTTE STATION, Parish of St. Charles, }
Dec. 7, 1860.

"SIR: I am requested by the company of Mounted Minute Guards of St. Charles, to give you notice that your presence is absolutely necessary on Sunday, the 9th inst., at 6 o'clock precisely. J. B. FLEITAS, Secretary."

Mr. K. went to the place designated at the appointed hour, expecting that his presence was required to be enrolled in a new military company—and no man in the South would more cheerfully bare his breast to the death-dealing bullet in defence of Southern rights and Southern honor than he would—and to his utter astonishment, he was ordered to leave the parish instanter, or take the alternative of a coat of tar and feathers and a shaved head! This was not all; Mrs. K., the mother of seven children, was also ordered to leave, as a dangerous and suspicious character—not only ordered to leave, but refused permission to wait for the down-coming train on the Opelousas Railroad, and was compelled to proceed to the river bank, some three miles from her dwelling, with her children, and to walk some eighteen miles further to the ferry, opposite Carrollton, with scarcely clothing enough to save her youngest child from perishing by the cold. In the meantime, the property of the Kehoe family, their cattle, hogs, poultry, produce, furniture, and all they possess, are left to the mercy of every thief and ruffian who may be disposed to help himself.

From The Chicago Tribune.

NEW ORLEANS, November 23, 1860.

DEAR BROTHER: Here I am, in the Crescent City, having arrived here from Galveston, Texas, this morning, where I was refused admittance into the country, and ordered out of it as soon as possible, so I was obliged to return by the same steamer. In Galveston they all wear a belt with a revolver and knife, and wear a blue cockade on their hats, and march around the streets ready to shoot, stab, or hang any one who voted for or is friendly to Lincoln. The country is in a horrid state, and so is New Orleans. Everything is on the verge of panic and ruin.

You must not write to me, at present, as I do not wish to run any risk for a few days; but should I not write to you in three weeks' time, you may then write to Mr. ——, New Orleans, and he will tell you whether I am alive or dead.

NEW ORLEANS, December 2, 1860.

The most tyrannical monarch in the Old World was never so despotic as these secessionists. Talk about your "free speech"! The day before yesterday, a man, who had resided in the South for some years, merely remarked that he was glad Lincoln was elected. For this he was arrested and thrown into prison (and it was fortunate for him, for by that he escaped the next lamp-post and rope), and yesterday he was given twenty-four hours time to leave the city and State. I could give you any number of cases of the same kind, but let this suffice; and know ye, it is dangerous for a man to let the name of Lincoln pass his lips, unless it is coupled with a curse. I tell you, I am getting sick of this place, and shall start for the North again in the spring.

THE CHIVALRY ON BLACK MAIL.

The New Orleans Bee, under the head of "Beware of the Scoundrels," has the following paragraph:

"We have been informed for some time of a villanous system of black mail being carried on by scoundrelly fellows, who have been vilely taking advantage of the timorousness of certain persons, both residents and strangers, by threatening to denounce them as Abolitionists. These rascals have fraudulently represented themselves to be members of the Southern Vigilance Committee, and are believed to have raised considerable money. We have not spoken of the subject before, because we were endeavoring to get hold of facts, in which we have finally succeeded. A young gentleman, partner in a Cincinnati firm, came to this city the other day on a brief business trip, and stopped at the St. James Hotel, registering himself as from Cincinnati. Soon after, he was accosted by a well-dressed person, who asked him to step out into the alley-way. Here a conversation took place, which resulted in the foolish Cincinnatian giving the fellow $50 as black mail. We would warn every one against this rascality. No person who would accept hush money belongs to the Vigilance Committee. That fact may be relied upon in all confidence, and if any person who is approached by one of these sharpers does not hand him over to the police or punish him on the spot, he deserves to suffer himself.

TENNESSEE.

Correspondence of The New York Tribune.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., December 5, 1860.

No Northern man is safe in the South now. It matters not how servile a Democrat he may have been, or may now be, if he is from the "accursed North" it is sufficient. Northern men are being driven away from New Orleans. Cincinnati steamboats are refused a landing at the wharf there. And here in Memphis, Northern men in business bow to this Moloch of slavery, prostrate themselves in the dust, and discharge their Northern clerks and workmen. They are daily leaving. Some have been turned off, and have not the means to get home again up the river. It is truly deplorable. I have noticed many cockades and blue rosettes. If the North yields one inch in this crisis, I hope perdition will light upon it. The battle is more than half won; the outer redoubts of the Slave Power are taken; and if the North, if the American people, are but true to themselves, to freedom, and the great rights of humanity, after a little sputtering all will be well. Many South Carolinians are here with their blue rosettes, appealing to all who will listen for the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. I asked some of these gentlemen what it was that South Carolina claimed as "her rights" for which her people were contending, and that they could not enjoy in the Union. Major De G., a fine-looking gentleman from Chester, S. C., told me it was the Personal Liberty bills in the free States, a refusal to protect negro property in the Territories, and because the Abolitionists were opposed to Southern gentlemen raising two families together, one by a white woman and the other by a negress. Well, well, this last is certainly a dear, sacred right. He stated to me that there were so many white "niggers" in Charleston that a law was necessary to prohibit "niggers" from wearing veils, to distinguish them from white persons. Is it to be determined by the action of the American people that the Constitution was really made for such purposes, as the Southerners claim? I hope that every Northern Legislature will stand firmly by the laws of their States, as there is no doubt in the mind of any legal unprejudiced man but that the Fugitive Slave act of 1850 is unconstitutional and void. The South is really suffering more than the North to-day, but many try to make it appear otherwise. PEMBROKE.

PROFESSOR MITCHEL THREATENED.

From The New York Tribune.

Some days ago, the eloquent Director of the Dudley Observatory, having had occasion to travel through the State of Mississippi, was observed by a "Minute Man," and accosted as a Northern Abolitionist on a tour for the purpose of prompting niggers to run away.

The astronomer informed his assailant that—well, what we cannot tell, except that he "replied in a very gentlemanly manner." But the discussion is said to have been of a very exciting nature. The fact, however, that the "Minute Man" declined to lay hands on the Professor says something for the power of argument which he must have poured out at the moment. At the time of the occurrence, the train was running at full speed, and other passengers in the same car witnessed the scene, but remained "mum." The name of the road is the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad. The name of the point at which the affair occurred our reporter has not been able to learn, but it is said to have been "in the interior of Mississippi."

A gentleman, doing business in this city, happened to be travelling on the same car and saw the whole transaction, but on the ground that Professor Mitchel does not desire the facts in the case to be brought before the public, he declined giving our reporter any information beyond the fact that he was on the same train, saw the whole affair, and subsequently learning that the name of the gentleman who had been insulted was Mitchel, and that he came from New York, approached him, and asked him if he was Professor Mitchel? It also appears, from information thus gleaned, that the Professor was overwhelmed with gratitude to find a man hailing from the same State as himself, and immediately began to detail what had taken place between him and the "Minute Man"; whereupon the Professor's fellow-traveller informed him that it was quite unnecessary, as he had witnessed the whole thing. On learning this, he, Professor M., immediately said that, if he should relate the circumstance that had transpired, North, among his own friends, they would scarcely credit him, and if he, the fellow-traveller, would be kind enough to give his name and address so that he might call upon him to verify his story, if necessary, he, the Professor, would feel under much obligation.

Since the arrival of the parties in their safe homes, however, an effort has been made to keep the facts from the public. But the story having been told in private circles, in a semi-confidential manner, "Don't-tell-any-person" has violated that confidence, and enough is known to warrant the belief that Professor Mitchel has been the subject of at least not very gentle treatment during his Southern travels.

AN ENGLISH ABOLITIONIST LYNCHED IN MISSISSIPPI.

From The St. Louis Democrat, December 8.

A respectable looking man named William Smithyman, a native of England, and for several years a resident of Wisconsin, arrived in this city on Tuesday, from Memphis. Mr. Smithyman was driven from Mississippi last week, after suffering severe injuries for crimes alleged against him, but of which he declares his entire innocence. He was formerly employed in this city for a few weeks as a miller, in the Planters' Mills on Franklin avenue, and went to Mississippi for employment in June last. He obtained work in Panola and De Soto Counties, near the Tennessee line. He worked for several parties, dressing millstones, and met with no opposition from any party whatever till a week ago yesterday, when he started from Looxahomie, De Soto County, for Senatobia station, on the Tennessee and Mississippi Railroad, seven miles distant, employing a negro to carry himself and trunk in a wagon to the railroad. Arriving at Senatobia after dark, he proceeded to look up some freight for the negro's owner, and in doing so went into the freight depot. While there, three or four persons approached him, and asked him where he was going and what he was doing. He told them, looking for some freight for Looxahomie; but they charged him with being an Abolitionist and a suspicious person, and seized and threw him into a freight car, which they locked, and then went up into the village to tell the story. The negro was also arrested, and, as afterwards appeared, was threatened with instant death if he didn't confess that the man in the freight car had endeavored to persuade him to run off. The negro, thinking probably to save himself from torture, said that such was the case, but notwithstanding the confession, he was severely flogged.

About ten o'clock, a crowd of thirty or forty returned to the railroad station, took Smithyman out and marched him into the woods. There they stripped him naked, notwithstanding the weather was intensely cold, and gave him a large number of stripes—the victim thinks two hundred—with a thick leather belt, sometimes flat and sometimes with the edge. A man, who appeared to be a doctor, then advised them to desist, saying that they would finish the job the next day. They then put him back in the freight car, with nothing but his clothes and an old rug to protect him during the night. In the morning he was released and permitted to pay fifty cents for a cup of coffee.

An armed force, styling themselves "Minute Men," then took him into custody afresh, went into the woods again, made him strip, tied his hands around a tree, and then shaved his head as close as they could. The crowd urged him to tell all about his doings in the interior, and said that they knew he was guilty of exciting slaves to insurrection, had tampered with them, and all that. Three or four said that if he would confess his life should be spared, but that if he did not he would be strung up. By this time Smithyman was half dead from exhaustion and fright, and believing that it was his only chance of safety from hanging, he boldly avowed that he had tampered with slaves. With a shout the eager listeners seized him, and some were for hanging him. An attempt was made to get a rope around his neck, but others were so anxious for another operation that the would-be executioners failed. Smithyman was stripped, and liquid tar, almost hot enough to scald, was poured over his head; and, half blinded as he was, the victim was not allowed to put his hands to his eyes to keep the tar from blinding him altogether. They then stuck him all over with loose cotton. After this was through, they told him that he must start for Memphis immediately—forty miles off—and not stop till he reached that city. They gave him five minutes to put on his clothes, and while he was trying to pull off some of the cotton, several of the mob stood by, kicking his limbs with their thick boots, the marks of which kicking he still bears. They then allowed him to start. Smithyman walked all the way to Memphis and took the boat to this city.

NEGRO INSURRECTION.

From The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Dec. 13.

We heard from a reliable source at a late hour yesterday evening, that an insurrectionary plot had been discovered amongst the negroes somewhere between Dublin and Pine Level, in this County, and the evidence against the two white scoundrels who incited them to it is so overwhelming that the citizens of that vicinity have determined to hang them to-day, together with several negroes belonging to Mr. Allen and Mr. Frazer. The greatest excitement prevails. We are not in possession of any further particulars. We received this morning, says the *Mail,* the following letter from Ramer Post Office, in this County. It will serve to put the people everywhere on guard, without a word of comment from us. The necessary precautions should everywhere be taken at once, quietly, and this fiendish plot will be nipped in the bud, as it has no doubt been headed off in this County:

DECEMBER 11, 1860.

We have found out a deep laid plan among the negroes of our neighborhood, and, from what we can find out from our negroes, it is general all over the country. The plot is this, they are to make a general rise during the Christmas holidays. We are now whipping the negroes—taking them as they come. We hear some startling facts. They have gone far enough in the plot to divide out our estates, mules, lands and household furniture. Their plan is this: They are to kill the families on a certain night (that they live with), and then get together and take the country. They look for aid from Lincoln and the Northern people. We cannot find out the exact time, but they generally have pitched on Wednesday night, the 26th of December. No humbug in this. You may publish this, or as much of it as you see cause, and request the other papers to do the same.

Jesse G. Jones,	T. J. Orme,
John Orme,	William Allen, Sr.,
J. D. Garrod, M.D.,	Hiram Thweatte,
J. M. Urquahart,	Charles Walker,
P. G. Fannin,	Henderson Norman,

W. B. Myrick.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT IN ARKANSAS.

The Enquirer learns from a gentleman, in whose statements it places implicit confidence, that a Methodist preacher made his appearance in Osceola, Ark., a short time since, and wished to ventilate a quantity of his stock of abolition rhetoric. His offer was declined, the inhabitants feeling that they were quite well enough posted on the principles of abolitionism. He still persisted, and went about twenty-five miles below Osceola, where he succeeded in getting employment from a number of planters to preach to their negroes. One of the planters, a few days since, received a letter from a planter in South Carolina, warning him of this man, as he was a dangerous Abolitionist. A committee of citizens was immediately formed, who arrested the preacher, and he was taken to Osceola, tried, and sentenced to execution.

From The Providence Journal.

An intelligent gentleman, whose name we are not at liberty to mention, but who is well known throughout the whole country, has recently returned from a tour through some of the Southern States. He is himself a native of a slave State, and, so far as he has any prepossessions in favor of either section of the country, they are partial to the South rather than to the North. He has travelled extensively in Europe, and he says that he never saw even in Austria such a reign of terrorism, such a despotism, as he has just witnessed in his journey. Conservative, Union-loving men are awed into silence. A gloom hangs like a pall over society. Men, who in their hearts dissent from the opinions of the secessionists, are now ruled as with a rod of iron, and speak in whispers and with the utmost caution.

Our friend says that on reaching a certain place, he saw a number of men near the telegraph office talking earnestly about some item of news which had just been received, and he ventured to ask what it was. He was told that some of the Federal officeholders at Charleston had resigned. He mildly expressed his regret that they had done so. What was his astonishment to see a gigantic fellow approach him and, with oaths, threaten to hang him as an Abolitionist. He explained that he was no Abolitionist, and that he was a Southerner by birth, and was allowed to go on his way at last. But for awhile danger looked imminent, and not a man among all the company of bystanders uttered a word of remonstrance against the giant who threatened him.

The testimony of our friend is only a confirmation of evidence which comes from many sources that freedom of speech and of thought is now denied in many parts of the South, not only to Northern men, but also to Southern men who are in favor of the Union. This is the price that the South is paying for following the lead of its Yanceys and Toombses. How delightful must be a permanent residence in such a country! Does any one suppose that independent and high-minded men will consent to remain long under such a tyranny? And yet there are men at the South who are expecting a large emigration from the North in case of secession. It is with profound sorrow that we see any portion of our country suffering under such a tyranny of opinion. The very first element of vitality is wanting in such a society. It is lamentable to see that nowhere in the civilized world is there such a system of espionage, such disregard of the fundamental principles of free government, and such vindictiveness in punishing all suspected persons, as in certain parts of our own land. There are men in the South who know that they can only be rescued from this despotism of self-constituted rulers by adherence to the Union and by the equal and impartial administration of law. The inauguration of Mr. Lincoln was really be the greatest possible blessing to the South if he shall be able to unseal the lips of the Union men who are now hushed in silence by the reign of terrorism.

SOUTHERN IDEAS OF COMPROMISE.

From The Montgomery (Ala.) Mail.

A FRIEND of ours, who is known as a most sagacious business man, as well as a prominent member of the Baptist Church, submitted lately to a mutual friend, his idea of the basis on which the South ought to compromise with the North, on the question of slavery. We do not know—though we hate compromises—but we would be willing to "acquiesce" in this, if the North, *bona fide,* would perform her part of the agreement.

I will give you my views as to what the South ought to demand, and what the North will not only have to concede, but will have to perform if the Union is preserved and the South gets justice.

1. Take Giddings, Slade, Gerrit Smith, Seward, Hale, Burlingame, Greeley, and all other abolition leaders of the press, Church and State, considering them, upon the evidence before the world, as traitors of the most abominable character, and either send them to prison for life, hang them, or exile them where the beasts of some uninhabited island can prey upon them.

2. Every State which has passed what are called Personal Liberty laws, nullifying the Fugitive Slave law, repeal forthwith.

3. Make a full and complete surrender of all fugitive slaves to the South, and also all that are in Canada, and pay two hundred dollars per annum hire for the men, and one hundred and fifty dollars hire for the women, from the time of their escape to the time of surrender.

4. Surrender immediately, dead or alive, the confederates of John Brown.

5. Hang Lincoln and Hamlin on the same gallows on which John Brown was hanged.

6. Congress to pass a law making it treason for any man to introduce the subject, either by petition or otherwise, into its halls, and make the punishment imprisonment for life.

7. An act, making it piracy for any man to circulate incendiary matter, written, printed or verbal, in any form whatever, in private or from the pulpit, and upon conviction thereof before the proper court of the United States, imprisonment for life.

8. An act, also regarding it an offence against the Constitution, and both as "piracy" and treason, for any man in the free States to aid a fugitive slave to escape, or to be found with him, and let the penalty be immediate death.

9. Let Congress proceed to repeal the present tariff law; I mean all the tariff acts that have ever been passed, and pass a bill, making the tariff *ad valorem,* say not exceeding twenty per cent., which will be sufficient for an economical administration of the government.

10. Repeal the laws protecting the Northern shipowners, and allow on the entire American coast free and liberal competition, by admitting foreign ships to compete for freight, etc.

11. Repeal the laws protecting fishing interests.

The South cannot honorably accept less. As a citizen, I would be willing to have peace and stay in the Union on these terms, but nothing else.

DISUNION CAUSED BY THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY.

From Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization.

WE present the following important communication to our readers without comment. The writer is known as a gentleman of intelligence and integrity.

A VIEW BEHIND THE CURTAIN.

In the fall of 1853, the writer met in Paris the late Mr. Aaron Leggett, formerly a wealthy merchant in this city, and a member of the Society of Friends. We conversed frequently on the political prospects of the country as affected by the agitation of the slavery question. Mr. L. said that, when he was a young man, he was an active and zealous member of a Manumission Society, and that he continued to cherish in after life a very compassionate feeling for the poor negroes. At the time of the general emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies, Mr. Leggett's business called him to the city of Mexico, and while residing there he met Deputy Commissary-General Wilson, of the British army, an agent appointed by the British government to make the financial arrangements connected with the payment to the West India slaveholders of their portion of the £20,000,000 voted by the British Parliament as a compensation for the forced sacrifice of their property.

Mr. Leggett said that, when he learned Mr. Wilson's errand, he took occasion, while he was sitting with him one day after dinner, to express his admiration of the British government and the British people, for that noble act, the vote of £20,000,000 sterling, to procure liberty for 800,000 negroes! He gave full utterance to his feelings, and almost exhausted the vocabulary of eulogy to find the commendatory epithets which he applied to England and Englishmen.

"Mr. Wilson did not seem to sympathize with me," said Mr. L., "and when I had finished, he simply turned to me, and said, 'Do you think, Mr. Leggett, that this emancipation of the negroes will prove to be a *wise* measure?'"

"Certainly, I replied," said Mr. L. "How can it be otherwise?"

"The cool heads in England," said Mr. Wilson, "do not think that it will be beneficial in its effects on the interests of the people either in the colonies or in the mother country. Nor do I think so. We think that the freed negroes will do very little work; and that the West India colonies, as to their commercial value to the mother country, will be ruined."

Mr. Leggett had been carried away with the representations of the enthusiastic friends of emancipation—that free labor was more productive than slave labor; that when the negroes were free they would receive wages, and that this would stimulate them to raise sugar and coffee in greater quantities; that commerce would feel the benefit of the new impulse to agriculture; that lands would rise in value; that the income of the planters would be increased, etc.; and his ardor was at first cooled by Mr. Wilson's gloomy view of the case.

"After a little reflection, however," said Mr. L., "I continued my eulogy of the British government and the British people; and I went now further than before in the expressions of my admiration, but I went on a new tack. I said that the enemies of Englishmen, and of their government, were accustomed to represent them as always governed by mercenary considerations, and too willing to sacrifice justice, humanity, and all the virtues to the lust of gain; but here was a case in which the cool heads that directed the action of the government deliberately burdened their country with an immense debt, not to open new fields of wealth, but in full prospect of destroying the commercial value of their West India colonies, and of impoverishing the people there, and the proprietors in England—and all from a humane feeling, and a high sense of justice—a high sense of what is due to poor, helpless, downtrodden negro slaves! I knew of no parallel to it anywhere."

"When I had finished," added Mr. L., "Mr. W. again turned to me, and said, 'Mr. Leggett, do you really believe that the men who control the action of the British government were led by such motives as you ascribe to them, to sacrifice the commercial interests of their country?'"

"I replied," said Mr. L., "that if the men who controlled the action of the British government really believed that the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies would end in the commercial ruin of the islands, I could not conceive of any other motive for their conduct than the noble one which I had assigned."

"'Well, Mr. Leggett,' said Mr. W., 'you may believe this, but I do not. I believe that the action of the British government is made to promote, as far as possible, the *interests* of the English aristocracy.'"

Mr. L. then asked, "What interest of the British aristocracy will be promoted by the ruin of the British West India islands?"

Mr. Wilson said that the abolition of slavery in the British colonies would naturally create an enthusiastic anti-slavery sentiment in England and America, and that in America this would, in process of time, excite a hostility between the free States and the slave States, which would end in a dissolution of the American Union, and the consequent failure of the grand experiment of Democratic Government; and that the ruin of Democracy in America would be the perpetuation of aristocracy in England. I do not undertake to give the language of Mr. Leggett, but the following paraphrase conveys, in my own language, the impression made upon my mind of the course of reasoning by which Mr. W. came to his conclusion.

"The English Aristocracy have ruled England for ages. Their position is more enviable than that of any similar class in any other country of the globe. They rule the wealthiest empire in the world. Their landed estates embrace a large portion of all the lands in the kingdom; and these estates are entailed in their families. The House of Lords is composed exclusively of the Aristocracy; and they have such influence in the elections that the members of the House of Commons are, to a great extent, the near relatives of the Lords. Offices of honor and power, and sinecure offices with large incomes, in the Church, the Army, the Navy, the Colonies, at Foreign Courts, and in all the departments of Home government, are in their gift, and can be bestowed at their pleasure, upon their relatives and friends. They have inherited these privileges from their ancestors, and their great aim, their ruling desire, is to retain them in their families, and to transmit them to their posterity. Their control of the public press, and of all the fountains of popular opinion and sentiment in England, has enabled them to impress the minds of the great body of the middle classes there with the belief that the English Aristocracy, with its powers and privileges, is essential to the prosperity and glory of the English nation.

"Recently, however, this belief has been seriously shaken by the success of democratic institutions in America. Englishmen are getting now to be well acquainted with America; and they see there a people of the same race with themselves, speaking the same language, reading the same books, holding the same religious opinions, loving the same pursuits; in short, like themselves in every respect except that they have no aristocracy; and yet, under their democratic institutions, Americans are advancing even more rapidly than Englishmen, in commerce and the arts, in the diffusion of knowledge among the people, in population, wealth, and all the elements of national greatness; and intelligent men of the middle classes in England are beginning to think that aristocracy, with its heavy taxation for the support of sinecure offices, may not be so essential as they have heretofore supposed to the prosperity of England; and that the English people would perhaps make more rapid progress if they should throw off this burden, by republicanizing or Americanizing their institutions. The great danger to the English aristocracy lies in this idea in the minds of the English people; for, if it should take root and spread, it might end in a revolution in which they would lose all their privileges. Hence they study everything in America and in England with the deepest interest in its bearings on this matter.

"The English aristocracy know that the English people are a liberty-loving, a liberty-vaunting people. They saw with what ease numerously signed petitions for the abolition of slavery could be obtained in districts, and among classes, where there was *no interest* to check the current of the popular feeling. They knew that they could have found no difficulty in disposing of such petitions in Parliament without granting them, for they could have continued to receive them respectfully, and postpone action upon them endlessly, if their interest had required it. But after a time they, doubtless, reasoned with themselves, thus:

"'What will be the effect of encouraging and finally granting these petitions? If slavery shall be abolished in the British colonies, by compensating slaveholders for their losses, nobody in England will then have any *interest* in opposing the wildest and most enthusiastic expressions of anti-slavery sentiment. Englishmen will love to refer with pride and boasting to the large sum sacrificed by their government, with their concurrence, on the altar of liberty, justice, and humanity. They will then look to America, and they will see slavery still there, for Southern slaveholders in America, of course, will never ruin themselves and their country by imitating Britain in abolishing it. Englishmen can then be easily excited, on account of American slavery, to look down with scorn upon Americans and American institutions; and if any popular orator, or writer, in England shall propose to deprive the aristocracy of their powers and privileges, and, to fortify his argument, shall refer to the prosperity of America under democratic institutions, he will be met with this scorn, and defeated in his purpose.'

"This will be the effect in England of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies; but the most important effect will be the effect in America. America is divided almost equally between free States and slave States; between States in which the negroes are so few that no harm results from their emancipation, and States in which slavery is so deeply rooted that it cannot be safely abolished without ruin to all classes of the population. In the free States, a fierce anti-slavery sentiment, a bitter hatred of slavery and slaveholders, can be excited almost as easily as in England, and, in process of time, by constantly fanning the flame, such a hostility can be kindled between the people of the two great sections that it will lead to the destruction of the American Union, and the failure of the grand experiment of democratic government by men of the Anglo-Saxon race. And this failure of Democracy in America will be a new lease, and a long lease, to the English aristocracy of their powers and privileges. In short, Mr. Leggett, 'I believe that the English aristocracy lent their influence to the abolition of slavery in the British colonies that they may use it as a wedge for the division of the American Union. They did it to promote their own interest, to perpetuate their own privileges, by the destruction of the Union and prosperity of democratic America; and to secure their object, they care no more for a debt of £20,000,000 sterling, and the commercial ruin of the British West India islands, than for the ashes on that cigar that you are smoking.'"

In the above sketch, I repeat, I do not profess to give the language of Mr. L., but have endeavored, in my own language, to convey the impression made upon my mind of the course of reasoning by which Mr. W. came to his conclusion.

What struck me as particularly noteworthy in Mr. Leggett's narrative was, that before the experiment of negro emancipation in the British West Indies had been fully tried, and while the friends and supporters of the measure professed to believe that its effect would be happy upon those immediately connected with it, both in the islands and in England, an agent of the British government, who must have had uncommon opportunities for forming a sound judgment in the case, expressed his belief that they who controlled the action of the government knew, when they gave their sanction to the measure, that there was every reason to expect that it would be calamitous to the negroes, to the planters, and to the British people, and knew too that they could easily have prevented it, but that they still supported and encouraged it, because it would promote the interests of the English aristocracy, by enabling them to excite, in the free States of America, such an anti-slavery feeling as would lead to a division of the American Union, and the destruction of the great democratic Republic.

A constant attendance at the meetings of religious and philanthropic societies, and especially of anti-slavery meetings, during a residence of four years in London, thoroughly satisfied me that anti-slavery meetings and excitements are got up in England, not for the purpose of a removal, or an amelioration, of the evils of slavery in any part of the world, but chiefly, if not exclusively, with a view to keep up in the hearts of the English people a hatred of the people and institutions of America.

And, as to our own country, all who are acquainted with the history of the anti-slavery movement here, know that, prior to the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, the American anti-slavery movement was eminently kind, considerate, rational, and Christian; that it had already happily effected the gradual but total abolition of slavery in all the Northern States, and was at the time very active in the border slave States, especially among the slaveholders, who, after individually emancipating scores of thousands of their own slaves, united with each other in anti-slavery societies to promote, as far as possible, the gradual, but eventually total, abolition of slavery by law in their respective States, with fair prospects of success in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and with some hope even in North Carolina and Tennessee—the emancipation of the slaves in most of these States to go hand in hand with their removal to other lands. It is also well known that immediately after the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, anti-slavery societies of a totally different character were formed in New England, and that these societies were based on the principle of bitter hatred to all slaveholders, and a fierce denunciation of the measures which had been framed, with great consideration and wisdom, by Southern slaveholders, for the welfare of their slaves, and the elevation of the negro race. It is known that the supporters of these New England anti-slavery societies established newspapers, issued tracts, employed lecturers, and devised plans, evidently intended to irritate Southern men, and provoke to acts which would irritate Northern men, and provoke retaliatory acts, and thus, by continued angry action and reaction, ripen a hostility between the North and South, which would naturally end in a dissolution of the American Union. This system of hostility has been kept up now for twenty-five years, and, with what effect, let the present state of the country answer.

How much of the large amount of money expended by American Abolitionists in support of this organized system of hostility to the Constitution of the United States has been contributed in England we know not, but we do know that, while conservative Americans have often been publicly and wantonly insulted in England in connection with the slavery question, and without apology where apology was due from members of the aristocracy, other Americans, whose chief claim to notice was the zeal and success with which they had attacked a fundamental law of their country and promoted bitter strife between the people of its two great sections, have been invited to the homes of the English nobility, flattered, honored, and encouraged on their return to America to renew their warfare upon the people and institutions of the South. These facts are readily explained on the theory of Deputy Commissary-General Wilson that the aim of the English aristocracy is to perpetuate their own power and privileges by destroying the great American democratic republic, and they cannot, we think, be satisfactorily explained on any other theory.

SIDNEY E. MORSE.

Selections.

SENATOR WADE ON COMPROMISES.

[Extracts from the speech of Hon. B. F. Wade, of Ohio, in the United States Senate, Monday, December 17.]

I HAVE no concealments to make, and I shall talk to you, my Southern friends, precisely as I would talk upon the stump on the subject. I tell you that in that platform we did lay it down that we would, if we had the power, prohibit slavery from another inch of free Territory under this government. I stand on that position to-day. I have argued it probably to half a million people. They stand there, and have commissioned and enjoined me to stand there forever; and, so help me God, I will. I say to you frankly, gentlemen, that while we hold this doctrine, there is no Republican, there is no convention of Republicans, there is no paper that speaks for them, there is no orator that sets forth their doctrines, who ever pretends that they have any right in your States to interfere with your peculiar institution; but, on the other hand, our authoritative platform repudiates the idea that we have any right or any intention ever to invade your peculiar institution in your own States.

This brings me, sir, to the question of compromises. On the first day of this session, a Senator rose in his place and offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the evils that exist between the different sections, and to ascertain what can be done to settle this great difficulty! That is the proposition, substantially. I tell the Senator that I know of no difficulty; and as to compromises, I had supposed that we were all agreed that the day of compromises was at an end. The most solemn compromises we have ever made, have been violated without a whereas. Since I have had a seat in this body, one of considerable antiquity, that had stood for more than thirty years, was swept away from your statute-books. When I stood here in the minority arguing against it; when I asked you to withhold your hand; when I told you it was a sacred compromise between the sections, and that

this long, chronic controversy that has existed between us must be met, and met upon the principles of the Constitution and the laws, and met now. I hope it may be adjusted to the satisfaction of all; and I know no other way to adjust it, except that way which is laid down by the Constitution of the United States.

National Anti-Slavery Standard,

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1860.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH

National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.

THE Ladies who have for so many years received the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of the year, on

Wednesday, the 23d of January, Day and Evening.

As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable, even of those whose company is most desired, the Ladies hasten to say, that all who hate slavery, and wish to become subscribers to the funds for its peaceful, immediate abolition, without expatriation, may obtain special invitations (without which no one is ever admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, and of the Ladies at their respective homes.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
MARY MAY,
LOUISA LORING,
L. MARIA CHILD,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
CAROLINE WESTON,
MARY WILLEY,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,
SUSAN C. CABOT,
SARAH P. ATKINSON,
ELIZA ANDREW,
LYDIA D. PARKER,
ELIZA F. EDDY,
SARAH P. REMOND,
ABBY FRANCIS,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
AUGUSTA G. KING,
ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
ANNA SHAW GREENE,
ELIZA APTHORP,
MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
MATTIE GRIFFITH,
ANNE LANGDON ALGER,
MARY E. STEARNS.

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in country towns, with whom we have been so long in correspondence, are earnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, at this moment of hope and cheer, when the very evidences of progress make it difficult to raise money in large sums—*to take up collections* in their respective neighborhoods; using all diligence to make the amount of smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the hard times may possibly occasion in the larger ones. *Now*, as the very time for the most efficient expenditure, should be the time of most devoted effort. It is to be hoped that not a town in any State where we have ever had correspondence, nor an individual whose heart is in unison with ours on this subject, will be found wanting to our list. We have ample opportunity to know that there are many such at the South as well as at the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, nor all free from the painful remembrance of having once been slaveholders. We hope to welcome as many as possible at the evening reception; at all events, to receive their subscriptions by letter. Some of the ladies will be ready, while directing the arrangements for the evening reception, to welcome and receive the subscriptions of all their friends who prefer to make their calls during the day.

The Germania Band will fill the pauses of conversation in the evening. The guests may leave cloaks and shawls in the care of the attendants at the entrance and in the anterooms.

Each invitation must be countersigned by the guest, as last year, before presenting it at the door.

Boston, December 25, 1860.

DISSOLUTION AT LAST!

SOUTH CAROLINA has fulfilled our hopes and bettered our expectations. We have all along believed and avowed that Disunion would have to come from the South. Though the provocation and occasion of it has been ten times greater to the Northern than to the Southern States, we have never been sanguine that they could be kicked into going out of the Union. We are the more glad that they have been kicked out of it, instead. The reason of this difference between the men of the two sections is not so much one of spirit to feel and pluck to resent insults and injuries, as of the nature of their occupations and their interests. The North has a thousand things to think of. She is making money in a hundred ways through the elasticity of free labor, and she has but little time comparatively to dwell upon her wrongs, and is bound over in great sums of money to keep the peace as long as it can be done. The South, on the other hand, has but one interest, and that one absorbing every passion of her heart, avarice, the love of power over black men and of dominion over white men. Her ideas of wealth are two-fold, or, rather, two in one—slaves and land. She thinks that the Union is not essential to the development of this wealth. She has nothing to distract her attention from the contemplation of the obstacles which she thinks the Union interposes in the way of its enjoyment and multiplication. Hence the unanimity with which South Carolina meets the question of Secession. When we say "the South," we mean particularly those States where slave labor is profitable in itself, and not merely in its manufacture and sale. For it is these States that must settle all the questions growing out of slavery.

Whatever may be said as to the logical insufficiency of the grounds of the South Carolinian Secession, and the material insufficiency of the State to maintain herself upon them, we think no one can help giving her credit for spirit and resolution. If she be mad, we only wish she could *bite* some of her Northern sisters. With less than fifty thousand white men capable of bearing arms, without commerce enough to pay the cost of collecting the revenue or of carrying the mails, with the United States army and navy in front and an uneasy slave majority in the rear, the State has declared her independence, and defies the United States to take it away from her. If Northern men felt half the zeal for the maintenance of the rights of freemen that Southern men do for that of the wrongs of slaves, we should either have had a Union worth living in, or a half that were worth more than the whole, long ago. South Carolina, weak as she is, is still the mistress of the situation. She will either compel the other cotton States to cast in their lot with her, or she will dictate the terms on which she will return to, and they may remain in, the present Union. Her immediate secession was a masterstroke of policy, crowning preparations of long years, looking towards this very result. She could not have hit upon a happier moment in a century. Another hundred years could scarcely furnish her with a conspirator in the Presidential Chair, so base in his connivance that even Lewis Cass could not stand the infamy, and refused to end his public life of so many years by an act of Misprision of Treason.

We believe that the masses and most of the leading men of South Carolina are sincere Disunionists—that they have a genuine hatred of the North, and that they believe the State can stand alone if needs be, while they are confident of the coöperation of the other cotton States. Still, we are by no means sanguine that this desirable programme can be carried out. There is a strong "conservative element," as it is called, in the other States. That is to say, there are sensible men, who see that the existence of slavery is much more secure in the Union than out of it, and who believe that the North will consent to a fresh treaty which shall give them safety at home and dominion over all the rest of the country, such as they have ever enjoyed. They are not so sanguine as the South Carolinians as to the readiness of the great Powers of Europe to undertake the protection of a slaveholding Confederacy, and, as they have been doing pretty well and having their own way all the time for seventy years, they do not think it worth while to cast loose from their old moorings, merely because there is a possibility that the new captain may be disposed to shift the course of the ship a point or two more to the Northward. But the time is the most favorable possible for a new interpretation of the ship's papers, and, accordingly, we hear scarcely anything but sounds of mutiny from all that side of the vessel. With the help of a strong minority in the free States, as unscrupulous as themselves, and, unfortunately, meaner spirited, they hope to lock the yoke of slavery upon the neck of the North as it never has yet been done. And there is but too much reason to fear that this "coalition of the blacklegs and the Puritan, of Blifil and Black George"—if we may venture on an illustration which caused the duel between Clay and Randolph—may be completed. In which case South Carolina will, doubtless, consent to come back on her own terms and permit us to support her awhile longer. She will do it, as Beatrice married Benedick, "upon great persuasion, and partly to save our lives."

That every possible influence will be brought to bear upon the Republican members of Congress to induce them to consent to this infamy, there can be no doubt. The putting off of the evil day, the immediate relief from bluster and menace, the promise of a quiet experiment of Lincoln as President and of the confirmation of his nominations by the Senate, are great temptations and hard to be resisted. But then there are the country constituencies behind them, from whom they must expect a fearful looking for of judgment, in case they betray the trust that has been placed in their hands, that may prove a counterbalancing force. No man who betrays the North now, under whatever pretences, can ever lift his head in her presence again. He must make the best and swiftest bargain he can with his purchasers, for he will never have the chance of bringing himself to the man-market again. It is perfectly true that the slaveholding and Democratic majority may overrule the Republican minority, and pass whatever vileness they may choose to concoct by way of Compromise. But any such Compromise would be worthless, as representing only the beaten half of the country. Though the Republicans are in a numerical minority, they are in a virtual majority; because they stand for the victorious North, which has only to be stood by to go on from strength to strength. If the Republicans in Congress, as a body, go against the demands of the South, or if the substantial portion of them do, the Compromise will come to nothing. For, in fact, there is no Compromise to be made—only Concessions. If there is to be a Compromise, let it at least be one with two sides. Let the Fugitive Slave law be repealed, and the Southern States bound to repeal their laws forbidding the use of the Federal Courts in such cases as Mr. Hoar went to Charleston to institute, and also to make good all damages to the Northern men, or their families, who have been driven away or murdered by Vigilance Committees, and pledged never to interfere with the mails, and there will be some decent pretence of a Compromise. We advise any weak-kneed Congressman who is halting between two opinions, to make the proposition and see how it will be received.

We think it by no means impossible that some covered way will be engineered by which South Carolina can get out of her present position, if the other cotton States are not ready to join her, and that the Union will be patched up for awhile longer. But it has received its death-blow, and neither poppy nor mandragora, nor all the drowsy syrups of the East can ever medicine it to the quiet slumber that once possessed it. It is only deferring the day of a surgical operation which is inevitable—a delay which will only find the patient less able to bear it. For it is not pretended now by the advanced Disunionists that the Union is to be dissolved because of Personal Liberty bills or the difficulty of recovering fugitive slaves, nor even by the closing of the Territories against slavery. It is the spirit of Abolitionism which has taken possession of the Northern mind, that is fatal to the peace of the South and the integrity of the Union. The moral disapprobation of slavery which is shadowed forth in the election of Mr. Lincoln, the detestation of it which may be wisely inferred to exist behind and beneath this political manifestation—it is this that strikes more terror to the souls of the slaveholders than could the substance of ten thousand men. And they are wise in their generation. They have always been. They saw the end from the beginning, and therefore Georgia offered Five Thousand dollars thirty years ago for the head of Garrison, before the Mayor of Boston had ever heard of him. Therefore the slaveholders demanded that the discussion of the subject of slavery should be suppressed. The tree has brought forth precisely the fruit that they foresaw it would. It is perfectly logical that they should wish to get out of its shadow, if they cannot hew it down. Now it is clearly absurd to suppose that the Northern people are going to like slavery any better for what it has been showing itself to be of late. None but a fool can suppose that anything but increased agitation and greater indisposition to catch slaves can grow out of any Congressional Compromises, or even any repeal of Personal Liberty bills, could such be managed—which God grant it cannot! The slave States would only have fresh reason for wishing such security as Separation could afford them. The ease with which it can be done has been shown. The country was never so well prepared to stand the strain which such a revolution may work on its material interests. We trust that the slave-laboring States, at least, will go their ways, if it were only to let the remainder feel how well they can do without them. But, now or by-and-by, sooner or later, the revolution must come that shall free the two hostile nations—natural enemies—from the coalition which they call a Union. We could wish it were the North that would make the move; but we will thankfully accept it from the South, rather than not have it at all.

GONE OUT OF THE UNION.

SOUTH CAROLINA has gone out of the Union—*on paper*—by the unanimous adoption, in Convention assembled, on the 20th inst, of the following ordinance:

An Ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the Compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America.

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the Ordinance adopted by us, in Convention, on the 23d day of May in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

This was engrossed on parchment and signed by all the members of the Convention, 169 in number.

The news was sent at once by telegraph to all the principal cities of the South, in many of which it was greeted with bonfires, illuminations, discharges of cannon, and other demonstrations of approval.

The Convention subsequently elected three Commissioners (R. W. Barnwell, ex-Governor Adams, and ex-Speaker Orr), to proceed to Washington, under secret instructions, to negotiate with the National Government in regard to all the questions arising under this action. The President has so long abetted the treason of the Secessionists (in the hope of permanently subduing the North to the reign of the Slave Power through her attachment to the Union) that he has not the courage now, even if he has the disposition, to take the course required by his official oath. A frank avowal, six weeks ago, of a purpose on his part to enforce the laws at every hazard, would no doubt have arrested the Secession movement in all but two or three States; but he and his advisers have encouraged the Seceders to go forward, in the expectation that the panic created by their movements would bring the North once more to her knees and give the Democratic party a new lease of power. The Northern Backbone proves stiffer than they expected, while at the same time the Secession movement has acquired a momentum that places it, apparently, beyond the control of these political gamblers.

The Members of Congress from South Carolina sent the following communication to the Speaker, by whom it was communicated to the House on Monday. It made but a feeble sensation:

SIR: We avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity since the official communication of the intelligence, of making known to your honorable body that the people of the State of South Carolina, in their sovereign capacity, have resumed the powers heretofore delegated by them to the Federal government of the United States, and have thereby dissolved our connection with the House of Representatives. In taking leave of those with whom we have been associated in a common agency, we, as well as the people of our Commonwealth, desire to do so with a feeling of mutual regard and respect for each other—cherishing the hope that in our future relations we may better enjoy that peace and harmony essential to the happiness of a free and enlightened people.

JOHN MCQUEEN, W. W. BOYCE,
M. L. BONHAM, J. D. ASHMORE.

The Governor has issued his proclamation, setting forth to the world, that South Carolina is, and has a right to be, a separate, sovereign, free and independent State, and as such has a right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, leagues or covenants, and do all acts whatever that rightly appertain to a free and independent State. The Convention has also issued a Declaration of the Reasons for the secession. We may, perhaps, copy this hereafter.

The other cotton States seem likely to follow the example of South Carolina. Their Conventions will meet a few days hence to decide the question. In the more Northern slave States the secession feeling is said to be increasing, the friends of the Union having rather encouraged than opposed it hitherto, in the hope of thereby forcing the North to make new concessions in the interest of slavery. Having failed in this object, it remains to be seen whether they will rally to the standard of the Union, or suffer themselves to be swept away by the secession current. Our hope is, that the North will yield to no compromise that is not embodied in the Republican platform, and that the Union will be divided on Mason and Dixon's line. Then we shall have a free Northern Republic!

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON COMPROMISE.

How useful would it be to the cause of freedom, if one who loves it so much as Henry Ward Beecher would love it a little more! would love it enough to keep his testimony in its favor, generally so manly, so noble, so independent, so energetic, a little more uniform. The piquancy of his utterances causes them so to stick in the ears and the hearts of his immense congregation of hearers and readers, that it is a thousand pities he will not pause upon them long enough to avoid pulling down with one hand what he builds up with the other; to avoid testifying for injustice in immediate connection with his testimony for justice; to avoid urging compromise in the very paragraph in which he has been opposing compromise; to avoid fortifying slavery in his very protest against the giving of aid and comfort to slavery.

We will illustrate by reference to his Thanksgiving sermon, preached with such hearty energy, heard with so much enthusiasm, and read with such eagerness by many thousands in *The Independent* and elsewhere.

How clearly he shows that permanent prosperity depends upon rectitude of conduct; a conformity of our hearts and lives to those great principles of action upon which God has made real welfare to depend!

How wisely he counsels against the foolish fear of excitement and agitation, now so common, and inculcated by so many presses, even of that class which should have learned better things. How distinctly he makes it manifest that excitement is needful and wholesome, that agitation is the necessary barrier against stagnation and lethargy, and that, preëminently in this pivotal period, to refuse conflict for truth is to refuse God's work!

How manfully he repudiates compromise between liberty and slavery; calling men's attention to the much needed truth that slavery is to be equally resisted when it stands open, bold, roaring, aggressive, and when it comes sneaking through the grass, and calling itself compromise. What truth is now so needed by the Republicans as that which Mr. Beecher here tells them, that slavery is the same devil, under both names!

How clearly, enlarging upon this head, does he show that the secret intentions of those men who are chief fomenters of troubles in the South cannot in any way be met by compromise—and that anything given up to them now, small or great, will be received but as the first instalment of that which they are determined to demand, EMPIRE for slavery; that, besides being thus absolutely useless, compromise on the part of the North is pernicious and suicidal, because it is an abandonment of their own belief, their own principles, their own honor; that, in the nature of things, there *can* be no beneficial compromise between sickness and health, violence and peace, speech for liberty and speech for despotism; that, even if we were disposed to make an entire sacrifice of conscience and honor, to attempt to prevent the escape of slaves from slavery (in the circumstances, physical and moral, of this country), would be attempting an absurd impossibility, like the prevention of the tides or the processes of vegetation; and that, finally, compromise is a most pernicious sham, so manifestly fruitful of injury and disgrace, that, even if entered upon, it *never will be executed!*

Look, now, upon this picture—and on this irreconcilably diverse one, painted not only on the same canvas, but on the same part of the surface, so that each, by turns, shows through the other.

"If by compromise is only meant forbearance, kindness, well-wishing, conciliation, fidelity to agreements, a concession in *things*, not principles—why, then we believe in compromise."

And then, more minutely—

"All that belongs to the South; all that, with liberalest construction, was put in the original bond, shall be hers. Her own institutions were made inviolate in the respective States infected. The basis of representation in the South was made broader than in the North, and property, as well as citizens, sends representatives to Washington. We will not complain. The common revenue and the common force of the nation protect them against intestine revolt. Let it be so. The Constitution gives them liberty to retake their fugitive slaves wherever they can find them. Very well. Let them."

Now, in these last paragraphs, it is quite manifest that Mr. Beecher is thinking only of behaving with true kindness and liberality to the persons who are usually intended by the phrase—"our Southern brethren." He really supposes himself to be acting with the magnanimity of the just man of Scripture, who "sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." He is ready, out of genuine kindness of heart, to give up something that he and his party may rightfully claim, cheerfully taking this diminution of benefit on his side of the bargain, for the sake of peace. It is an admirable quality; one that we heartily praise; one that, if acted upon by even one side in every matter of contention, would go far towards giving peace to the world; one that would, at least, be a fulfilment of the apostle's admirably expressed injunction—"If it be possible—as far as lieth *in you*—be at peace with all men."

But, scrutinizing these pacific phrases more carefully, let us see whether Mr. Beecher, besides magnanimously giving up a portion of his own *interests* to his white Southern brethren, had not also, and by the same act, been injustifiably giving up the whole of the *rights* of his *black* Southern brethren!

What are the specific things which (assuming them, with an attempt at careful discrimination, to be "a concession in *things*, not principles") he is ready heartily, and "in good faith," to concede to the South?

He concedes

First, generally, "fidelity to agreements." "All that, with liberalest construction, was put in the original bond"—namely, the Constitution.

Next, specifically—

1. The inviolability of slavery in the slave States.
2. The three-fifths basis of representation in the South.
3. The common revenue of the nation, and the common force of the nation, to keep the slaves *from freeing themselves.*
4. Liberty to the oppressor, unobstructed by the North, to seize and carry back the fugitive from oppression, *wherever he can find him!*

These are the things that Mr. Beecher professes his willingness to yield up, "in good faith." We beg the reader to look back at the quotations from his Thanksgiving sermon above, and assure himself that we have accurately given their purport.

We have not the slightest doubt that, in making these concessions, Mr. Beecher verily believed that he was conceding only "*things*, not principles." Let us see whether these "things" do not inextricably involve principles.

Looking at the matter, first, generally—what is that group of things in question which was put into the original bond?

Does it not comprise the very things against which the best, noblest, purest of the fathers who formed that document long made a resolute stand, seeing the folly of trying to weld slavery with liberty into one implement?

Are not these the very things which those best and noblest of the fathers only admitted, after such long and earnest protest, on condition that they should be couched in such obscure and indirect phraseology that, however thoroughly serving the purposes of slavery for a time, they might leave no trace of such base meaning and use after the confidently expected extinction of slavery should have taken place?

Is it not a matter next to certainty that those best and purest of the fathers, *our* fathers, the men whom we preëminently delight to honor, would *never* have made that compact without the confident expectation that, after the specified twenty years, slavery would begin to dwindle, and would thenceforward progressively fade, until utter extinction? And is it not absolutely certain that, in trusting to this expectation, they made a dreadful, a ruinous mistake?

Well, even granting all this, our just man, who sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not, is prepared to take the unfortunate consequences of mistake, even when they bring loss and discredit to himself. Let us look a little further, and see if this bargain be not an unjust, a wicked bargain, as well as a losing one. Let us look at the specifications.

1. The making slavery "inviolate" in the slave States. The agreement to keep wickedness inviolate! The agreement to let the oppressor oppress without interference! To give our consent, "in good faith," to an unmolested treatment of men, women and children as merchantable articles! movables for the luxury or convenience of other men, women and children; possessions, to be used, at pleasure, or "used up," for profit! Is our just man entitled to "give in" this, together with his own profit and convenience, to his white Southern brother? Is he authorized to gratify the despotic caprice of his white Southern brother by consenting, "in good faith," that his black Southern brother shall be made a sacrifice? sometimes, alas! a "whole *burnt-offering*"!

2. The three-fifths basis of Southern representation.

Our just man, giving up his own rights for the sake of peace, consents that his white Southern brother's property may be represented in Congress, while his own is not. Very well! this may, perhaps, be noble as well as magnanimous. At any rate, "Blessed are the peacemakers." But if this same act be a consent that his black Southern brother may be forcibly and fraudulently deprived of *his* right to vote—may be "governed" far more than the rest of the population, without the slightest vestige of that "consent" on his part which our just man agrees to be essential to the justice of government—may be (virtually) more heavily taxed than any one else in the country, without the slightest "representation" of his real interests in the government—is this something within the province of our just man to concede? We trow not!

3. A potential compulsion of the whole body of slaves, by the *common* revenue and the *common* force of North and South, to submit to these outrages. If any refuse to submit, appealing to those means of self-protection which our venerated fathers appealed to, *active* compulsion by a fraternal white North and South, followed by vindictive scourgings, hangings and burnings alive on the part of the latter, with more "fraternal acquiescence" on the part of the former Does our just man feel sure that it is within his province to concede this? Why should not our black brethren take their liberty, if they can get it? Is it not unspeakably mean to help the stronger against the weaker, when we know the former to be in the wrong? And does Henry Ward Beecher plead his conscience for doing a *mean* action?

4. Liberty to the oppressors to retake their fugitives wherever they can find them. Our just man adds—"Very well. Let them!"

What, in the street, before your window, Brother Beecher! In your house? In the Plymouth church? Suppose—it is a possible thing, which may become actual very early in the reign of the first Republican President—suppose a slave should take refuge, literally, under your communion table, and be followed there by her *owner*, in your presence, and the presence of your Church! You, sympathetic, large-hearted man—and the great assembly, all Christian men and women, who hang enthusiastically upon your words, and spring to action on your slightest hint—all of you, by a common impulse, would put your hands in your pockets. This sister must be redeemed. Have you not been just commemorating the love of *the Redeemer?* A thousand—two thousand—three thousand dollars can be raised on the spot. But the slaveholder stands upon his constitutional rights. He does not wish to sell. He wants his property! He steps forward to take his trembling victim! Will you let him? If you let him, are you not damned beyond all hope of redemption? Will your sin, in that case, be any less than the sin against the Holy Ghost?

How, except by an inadvertency scarcely excusable, can Henry Ward Beecher bring himself to concede these things, even on paper? Is it anything less than betraying the cause of the poor and needy? Anything less than "passing by on the other side" while the perpetration of rape and murder, as well as of robbery, is going on?

CONCESSIONISTS AND COMPROMISERS IN DESPAIR.

INFORMATION from various sources confirms the statement of our Washington correspondent, that the President elect has earnestly advised his friends, to stand firmly on the Chicago platform. The Springfield (Ill.) *Journal*—a paper supposed to reflect Mr. Lincoln's views—tersely says: "We feel indignant sometimes when we hear timid Republicans counselling an abandonment in part of Republican ground. We are asking for nothing that is not clearly right. We have done nothing wrong. We have nothing to apologize for—nothing to take back, as a party. We have fought a hard battle. We have come out of it victorious; and shall we now call back the routed, flying enemy, and basely surrender all we have gained? Never! Let us stand firm as the Eternal Hills upon the Republican Platform." *The Tribune* says: "We are enabled to state, in the most positive terms, that Mr. Lincoln is utterly opposed to any concession or compromise that shall yield one iota of the position occupied by the Republican party on the subject of slavery in the Territories, and that he stands now, as he stood in May last, when he accepted the nomination for the Presidency, square upon the Chicago platform."

The effect of all this has been to impart a most encouraging rigidity to the Republican Back and plunge the compromisers into despair. The Washington correspondent of *The Express* thus wails over the prospect:

"Crittenden's proposition, in substance, is the only basis upon which an agreement between the sections is possible. Believe this, for it is unquestionable. But Republican leaders and representatives have refused and will refuse it. They mean to concede nothing. Till yesterday, there was hope from the Senate Committee; now there is none. Republican Senators are as uncompromising as Republican Representatives; they set their faces as steel against all compromises."

The correspondent of *The Herald* tells the same story:

"All hope of compromise through the instrumentality of Congress is at an end. Mr. Crittenden has given it up. So has Mr. Corwin. No well-informed man of any party, acquainted with the proceedings in the Committees of which these gentlemen were respectively Chairmen, expects any satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties between the North and South from our Federal legistators, now or hereafter. There is no prospect of anything better than a dissolution of the existing Union, and a reconstruction upon well defined and well understood principles, or the establishment of two or more confederacies by States that are not discordant, socially or politically."

We are sorry to see that Mr. Seward offered in the Committee of Thirteen propositions drawn by Messrs. Grimes of Iowa, and Collamer of Vermont, in these words:

First. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere in any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to service or labor by the laws of such State.

Second. The Fugitive Slave law of 1850 shall be so amended as to secure to the alleged fugitive a trial by jury.

Third. It shall be respectfully recommended to the several State Legislatures to review all of their laws affecting the rights of persons recently resident in other States, and to modify or repeal all such as shall contravene the provisions of the Constitution of the United States or of any of the laws made in pursuance thereof.

The first of these propositions was carried in the Committee by the following vote.

YEAS—Messrs. Powell, Hunter, Crittenden, Seward, Douglas, Collamer, Wade, Bigler, Rice, Doolittle, and Grimes—11.
NAYS—Messrs. Davis and Toombs—2.

Mr. Douglas proposed to amend the second proposition by inserting "in the State from which the fugitive escaped." This was carried, and then the whole proposition was voted down by the Democrats, all the Republicans sustaining it.

The third proposition was lost as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Grimes, Seward, Wade, Doolittle, Collamer and Crittenden—6.
NAYS—Messrs. Powell, Hunter, Toombs, Douglas, Davis, Bigler and Rice—7.

The Southern men voted adversely upon the ground, though it was not openly assigned, that this proposition would affect their laws imprisoning colored seamen.

Mr. Seward, in his speech at the Pilgrim Dinner in this city, last Saturday evening, expressed the opinion, that the secession feeling is weaker now than it was on the day of the Presidential election; that every day's sun which has set since that time has set on mollified passions and prejudices, and that if we will only give it time, sixty days' more suns will give us a much brighter and more cheerful atmosphere. This is not our reading of the horoscope.

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU....XLIV.

December 3, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: It has been a memorable month in your history, the month that has passed since I last wrote. From what I hear, it really seems as if people, Americans as well as English, on this side the water, were as much taken by surprise at the turn in the tide of your political affairs as if some other people had not been anticipating it for a quarter of a century. An eruption of Vesuvius without smoke or rumble, or an earthquake in a calm, cool night, could not startle them more. To me, this seems very strange. The anticipation which is now in course of fulfilment has occupied so large a space in my mind for nearly half my life, and I have been called to say so much about it, by pen and tongue, that I can hardly understand how intelligent Europeans, and much more Americans, can fail to have been long prepared for *any* issue of the great controversy which involves your national character and repute, if not existence: yet I heard, this very morning, of an American who dreads the North being so alarmed by the menaces of South Carolina as to yield everything, after all! I can hardly conceive of any one having still so much deference for South Carolina as to talk in that way, after the immediate danger of commercial panic had been actually incurred. It is conceivable that a community might stand shilly-shallying on the brink of a peril like that, each man being afraid to precipitate the risk; but when the cold horror was once over, and the nation had found that it could swim very well, it is past understanding why it should not strike across and gain the right bank. I should as soon expect the English and French troops to turn and flee to their ships because the Chinese soldiers bang their gongs, and shake horse-tails, and display rows of logs painted as guns. The Tartar bands might have checked them when struggling through the mud between ship and shore; but, once on the high road, with the country people delighted to see them, and only an oligarchy of oppressors to confront them (a race of insolent aristocrats, trembling for their peculiar institutions), a move forward is so natural a course that none but mandarins, one would think, could dream of any other. It appears, however, that the demonstrations of the braggart States do somewhat affect the imagination, in your country as in mine. I observe some vacillation of tone following upon news from the South. Some, who were confident at first that there would be no disruption of the Union, have spoken with a certain tone of doubt at a later date, though without any fear. If there is any ground for this, and for a dread lest the North should turn tail after all, I suppose there must be some mistake in the information we have, or the judgment we form, of the utter helplessness of South Carolina and her neighbors, except for their share in the Union. Considering the proportions of the white and colored population in South Carolina, and the barbarism of the poor whites, and the small number of the slaveowners, and the relative amount of indigenous and borrowed capital, and the absence of manufactures and of a thriving industrial class, the threat of secession looks to us like a bad joke. And then, she has no case. The first question here is, naturally, "On what ground can she secede?" As our political parties do not propose rebellion when they have to go into opposition, we cannot readily imagine any State of the Union complaining of mortal injury, because the national vote has gone against her. As for the partial repudiation of the Fugitive Slave law, the repudiation is so very partial that such a pretence will not satisfy the world as the ground of such a step as secession; and if South Carolina appeals, as she promises, to the public opinion of Europe, she will be told on all hands that, as far as appears, she has no case. Again, it seems that there is nothing but immediate and utter ruin before her if she cuts herself adrift. If the North chooses to coerce her, she cannot resist for an hour of actual conflict. I do not forget the arsenal at Charleston, and all I heard there and at Columbia about the means of aggression and defence provided in the Nullification days; and if their plight has mended since then in *materiel*, it has deteriorated in regard to the terms they are on with their slaves and poor white neighbors. If, again, the North should "let her down the wind, to prey at fortune," was ever poor State in such a helpless condition as she will be! With only one industrial interest, and that implicated with negro slavery, and with a population incapable, in all its sections, of self-government; the citizens burdened with debt; the port destitute of a navy, commercial or political; the land producing nothing but cotton, with which to obtain imports, and the community needing to import everything but cotton; how could she get on for a single year or month? How could she withstand "the moral blockade of the world" in regard to her "peculiar institution," if the nation to which she belongs can tolerate no longer its share in the disgrace of it? She would, in fact, invite the pity and contempt of the world by any other course than that of going into opposition with a good grace. The folly of making a present to the free States of the majority in Congress is another puzzle to us. Or, rather, it would be a perplexity but for the key which, I suppose, unlocks the whole series of follies. The South Carolina people (or those who speak for the State) have evidently lost their judgment. Between their pride and self will, and the ignorance in which they have found it necessary to live, for the preservation of slavery, they have become incapable of prudence in action, and of forming a sound judgment of what is actual and what is possible. I should not trouble you with all this, familiar as it must be to you, but for the desire to show you how the case looks at this distance, and to learn how and where we are wrong, if the position is less clear than it seems. Probably the explanation offered would be that the slave States are aware that slavery must become untenable when the national support and sanction are withdrawn from it: but would it not become even sooner untenable in an outcast State than in one sheltered by Federal relations? Any way, the fortunes of South Carolina seem nearly as desperate as her temper and her talk; and, as she is not likely to reform, she must succumb. The one party concerned that we hear nothing of, amidst all the turmoil, is the negroes. One would like to know what they are talking about in their own quarters in the middle of the night, and how much they understand of what they see in the day. Surely they must know very well what it is all about; and after the drumming in the streets, and the hoisting of flags, and the speechifying, and the levying of troops, and the posting of guards, let nobody ascribe anything that the negroes may think and do to "prowling Abolitionists," or to anybody but "the gallant sons of little South Carolina" themselves. By the insight of genius, *Mr. Punch* is aware of the state of the negro mind. I hope you think so, if you have seen his number of last week, with the illustration in elucidation of American politics—the negro handing the newspaper to his owner, with the news of the Pennsylvania vote. How much more than wit there is in those marvellous weekly pictures!

I am afraid some people think us Abolitionists rather perverse and ungracious, because we are not at the highest point of elation at this turn in the policy of the United States. I hope we are not unthankful; but there is so much still to be done! And there may be such mistakes in the doing or postponing it! I remind my friends that we do not yet know Mr. Lincoln; and, however well disposed to believe him honest, we know him to be no more than a Free-Soiler. And again, it remains to be shown whether a Free-Soiler can, on the one hand, govern North and South at once, and, on the other, whether he can do his part towards the regeneration of the Constitution. I should be thankful to be sure that Mr. Lincoln will lead his country a step onwards towards a genuine and consistent Republicanism in profession and act; and more than that I think it would be unreasonable to expect of any Free-Soiler. Such moderate expectations afford abundant warrant for all the sympathy and assistance that the Abolitionists can render to any who will move in releasing the country from its pro-slavery trammels and tendencies; but I see no warrant for supposing that any man is likely to become an Abolitionist in the White House, if he was not one before. I remind my friends that Mr. Buchanan was taken for an Abolitionist in London, till the Ostend Manifesto came out. By the way, I hope it is not wicked to feel glad that Mr. Buchanan comes in for some of the experience of your revolution, after his hypocritical preaching and praising about the "calm" which it was his mission to establish in the American polity. I hope he will quake from this time till March for the public good.

The Prince of Wales was *not* by his mother's side when I last wrote, as I hoped he might be. You have heard how stormy weather kept him at sea till we were all really anxious. The Duke of Newcastle is to have the garter, in acknowledgment of his excellent guardianship of the Prince, and everybody will clap hands at it. He is an excellent public man; and a small addition to the strength and compass of his abilities would make him a really great statesman. We are very thankful for him as he is.

I wish, more than I hope, that European affairs may wear a less anxious appearance than at present before I write next. Austria is not in a mending way; and nothing but mischief can come of tempting her provinces with offers of improved liberties which either cannot be accepted or turn out shams. The relaxations decreed by the Emperor of the French are a portentous sign of the times. We well know how little substance there is in his proposed legislative discussions and publicity; but these things are a sort of foothold from which an advance may be made, and they at least show his sense of the need of some new support at home. His position, between his clergy, the Pope, and the rest of Europe, is no doubt as perplexing to himself as the results of such a policy as his ought to be; and we cannot be sorry, either for any improvement whatever in the liberties of France, or for any embarrassment which may compel her despot to grant more. The journey of the Empress to Scotland at this season is as much a mystery to us as to the rest of the world, and we can guess as we like between the requirements of her health and her reluctance to witness any further humiliation of the Pope and his Church. We can only wish she had come in better weather. Of the perils of Italy you know as much as we do. Cabals are endangering the ruin of all that has been done; meddlings of reactionary agents on the one hand, and red republican agitators on the other, and the Neapolitans not wise enough to kick both out. If any man can succeed in establishing liberty, it is Cavour.

H. M.

A LETTER FROM PARIS.

PARIS, November 23, 1860.

M. Lincoln a été élu President des Etats Unis. C'est la première victoire éclatante qu'ait remportée depuis long temps le parti abolitioniste.—*Debats, du 20 Nov.*

WHO Mr. Lincoln is I've not the least idea, and can only hope that his antecedents are such as to authorize the rejoicings of Abolitionists; but be he who or what he may, I'm under great obligations to him for giving me the opportunity of writing to and congratulating you, my very dear friend (always with the reserve of there being matter for congratulation). I wish I were more up in your politics, as far as they concern the cause, which is so near to my heart. Make haste, make haste, for you are becoming a by-word among the nations. Some months ago, I saw America cited in the *Journal des Economistes* as an argument against the claims of nationalities: "Sans la scission sanglante qui l'a séparée de l'Angleterre, elle serait délivrée du fléau qui ternit sa splendeur, amoindrit sa puissance, et amenera un jour, sa ruine politique, comme il a déja amené sa décadence morale"—and now I see Mr. May, whose speech I found here on my return from Switzerland—(please, if you have the opportunity, thank him cordially or his kind remembrance)—says the same thing in his repudiation of war. Think of one's having nothing to say in reply. Four millions and a half of human creatures having cause to rue the independence of America! I had no conception, till I read Mr. Sumner's speech, that any one was *now* to be found justifying, nay glorifying, "the institution" on its own grounds, as creating an aristocracy greatly needed, as of divine origin, etc.; his countrymen abroad take much lower ground, abjure it *per se*, sigh and groan over the obstacles which impede its suppression, and lament that the Abolitionists by their violence (shocking people you are) retard the measure they (the slaveholders) so much désire. We read and circulated the admirable speech of Mr. Sumner, which deserved to have been printed in a less sight-distracting form. He left no point untouched, and was conclusive on all. Apropos of orators, it is right to tell you that the Coquerels, not only the son but the father, never lose an opportunity in the pulpit of stigmatizing, as a disgrace to Christianity and Protestantism, the existence of slavery. You've had time, I know—for the *one* idea has, for you, no end of applications, and acknowledges no limits of time or space—to follow with deep interest and ardent *prayers* the cause of

tinted Alps from the Righi Vaudois, of the evening when we saw them from the terrace of Vevey; despite the rain and the wind, we enjoyed our cold summer, and managed to live a great deal *en plein air*, to the great advantage of spirits and health; every year I find myself able to walk up steeper heights.

FROM OUR SPECIAL LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

LONDON, Dec. 4, 1860.

I HAVE little that is noteworthy to communicate in reference to the anti-slavery cause in this city. We regard Senator Trumbull's speech at Springfield as a declaration of the policy of your new President; that is to say—a Pacific railroad, a Homestead bill, a judicious Tariff, the admission of Kansas, a Reform in the Treasury Department, Free Soil and the reversal of the Dred Scott decision, combined with a due regard to the constitutional rights of the South. We are looking with some interest to the arrival of Mr. Buchanan's farewell Message to Congress, being curious to know how he will comment on recent events, and how he will deport himself under the deep humiliation which his own pro-slavery policy has brought upon him. His disappointment must be great indeed. Where, now, are all the proud projects talked over and resolved upon at the Ostend Conference? Where are now the fruits of unscrupulous corruption and abject submission to his Southern taskmasters? Where, now, is the result of his labored attempt to alarm the selfish fears of the North? Verily he has reaped a righteous reward! His administration has been distinguished by high-handed wickedness, and the end of his career will be marked with ignominy. His four years of office will make a page in the annals of America stamped by decisions, acts and opinions as infamous as any that have characterized despotic governments.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter for December endeavors to make its peace with those who had marked its course for ten preceding months, in reference to Dr. Cheever, with displeasure, and had considered it their duty to utter their earnest remonstrance. It now admits that the calumnies in its March number were "incautiously admitted," and, passing over all the refutations which were subsequently offered, now publishes one respecting which it is able to say that it only "quite recently came into its hands," taking care to conceal the fact, that in August last the editor's attention was specially directed to Dr. Cheever's farewell address, and, declining to print it, was in October supplied with a copy of the Doctor's letter to *The Observer*, but preferred to publish the Protest of the Doctor's enemies. *The Reporter* now indorses Dr. Cheever in the following words: "In the character of a citizen, as well as of a minister of the gospel, he has faithfully and fearlessly proclaimed that slavery is a sin and a crime before God. We trust that a still larger measure of blessing will rest upon his labors." *The Reporter*, finally, "earnestly" recommends an appeal for funds to enable the Doctor "effectually to hold his position in New York, as the firm and uncompromising friend of the slave, to a cordial and liberal response from the anti-slavery public."

In this commendation, I have reason to believe, the members of the Committee of the B. and F. A.-S. Society cordially sympathize, and sincerely regret that *The Reporter* has, in late numbers, assumed so unfriendly an aspect. They will, I doubt not, take care that for the future their official organ is not made the vehicle for the propagation of slanders against the noblest of the slave's advocates. The new year will afford them the opportunity of adopting a new and better line of conduct.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24, 1860.

WITHIN a week the backbone of Northern members has stiffened, and a compromise has not the prospect of a successful passage through Congress that it had a week or fortnight ago. Northern members are continually receiving letters from their constituents, and the general tone is anti-compromising. There are exceptions, of course; for the constituents of several of the city members are very much alarmed, and write to their representatives here to purchase peace *at any price*. So, too, with a few members who represent manufacturing districts. Undoubtedly some of the Republican manufacturers of New England are frightened. I have seen letters here from old Free-Soilers of fifteen years standing, advising concession and compromise! How true it is that you never can thoroughly *know* a man, till you have put him to the pocket-test. "To resuscitate a drowned Yankee," says *Punch*, "feel in his pockets." If you would know the kind of anti-slavery a man keeps, test it with a money-panic, a threatened loss of business, or bankruptcy. If he still clings to the truth, and to free speech, through all these temptations, he is a man to be relied upon in times that try men's souls. But while occasional, exceptional letters, charged with selfishness and cowardice, may have been received from Republicans, many a Democrat in the free States has written bold words to his representative, demanding that no step backward be taken by any man in Congress, coming from a free State. All the advices from the West, and most of them from the middle and New England States, counsel firmness and forbearance, but under no contingency—not even to avert a final and permanent separation of the free and slave States—concession or compromise. These advices have had a wholesome effect upon Northern members, and they nearly all speak decidedly against every plan which has yet been proposed. A shrewd Southern member of Congress observed, one day last week, to a Northerner, "I tell you this is a game to smash the Republican party into fragments, and to give the old Democratic party a new lease of life and power. See if you don't agree with me one year hence."

Everybody here who is in favor of settling this question temporarily, at whatever cost, advocates Mr. Crittenden's proposition. To that plan all eyes are turned, and it is that which will pass Congress, if anything will. I need not say that it is a most infamous compromise. Only in its very name it is a fraud. It pretends to be a restoration of the old Missouri Compromise, which has a pleasant sound to old Whig ears. But the Crittenden plan is no more like Henry Clay's than white is like black. Crittenden proposes to give up to slavery all the Territory we possess below a certain line, *and all that we may hereafter acquire below that line!* I know, as a fact, that an old, fair-minded Southern Whig remonstrated with Mr. Crittenden upon this very point. Said he, "Why, sir, you give over all Mexico, if we acquire it, to slavery—and we *shall* some day acquire it. Drop that provision in your list of concessions on the part of the North, or provide that it shall require a two-thirds vote of Congress to acquire any new Territory." The Kentucky Senator was firm in his determination to secure this tremendous advantage to slavery. He admitted that he could have no hope of preventing the secession of all the cotton States, unless he could show them that the North is willing to make great and important concessions to slavery! As for the free States, Mr. Crittenden offers them nothing but—peace! The toadies of the North will be satisfied with pelf, he thinks, and the South with astounding advantages for negro slavery. He is not satisfied with any Congressional enactments, but insists that his degrading and iniquitous measure shall be engrafted upon the Constitution itself! He knows too well, that if he can frighten enough free States into its acceptance now, it will be utterly impossible afterwards to strike out the inhuman amendments—at least not for half a century. It is like the door with a spring lock—easy enough to open if you are inside; but once opened, and you upon the street, and you can never go back. The free States can agree to the proposed constitutional amendments, but cannot afterwards strike them out without the help of nearly half the slave States. Any Northern man who will help in fastening such chains upon the North must be a miscreant, and if he is a Republican, something worse than that epithet would imply.

So far, the dose which Mr. Crittenden offers to the Republican Senators has been "respectfully declined." "Take it yourself, if you wish," has been the uniform reply, "we will none of it." It is very doubtful if the Senate Committee of Thirteen will agree to father it. They certainly will not, unless Jefferson Davis and Mr. Douglas swallow their principles for the sake of supporting it. Mr. Douglas is getting ready for some kind of a somersault, for he has been throwing out a great many hints of his disregard of *consistency* in this great emergency, and this is undoubtedly to prepare his friends for a complete turnabout in his course. He will undoubtedly support the Crittenden resolutions. What a political history! Six years ago, for the sake of notoriety, and to please the South, which then made Presidents, he opened his batteries upon the time-honored Missouri settlement, broke it up, and yet, to-day, labors for its restoration! In any other country than this, a public man with Douglas's record would be loathed, and driven from public life by the universal scorn of all his fellow-citizens. Here, many rather admire Douglas's facility for changing front. He has as many lives as a cat. No matter over what precipice he is hurled, he always alights upon his feet, and he will soon be heard before the people, spouting for another Missouri line between slavery and freedom, and this time slavery-protection, and not non-intervention, will be his "great principle."

It seems now as if it would be impossible to collect the revenues in South Carolina much longer. The universal sentiment of the Representatives from the border slave States is against coercion—or, really, against any attempt to execute the laws in the seceding States. Most of the Northern Democrats take the same ground. Can one section of the country, divided into two parties, use force against South Carolina? If the North was a unit upon the question she might, but divided she cannot. But a terrible retribution awaits the cowards and temporizers at the North. Should the public property of the United States be given up without any attempt to retain it, of one thing we may be certain—Mr. Lincoln will not collect the revenues in New York or Boston if Congress will not give him the means to collect them in Charleston and New Orleans. Then our great manufacturers will find themselves at the mercy of foreign competitors. The Tariff laws will tumble to the ground, and their monopoly will be at an end. The next President is not going to execute the laws in one State and waive their execution in another. Let Messrs. Pugh and Vallandigham, who talk so loudly against coercion, remember that. If Charleston can, with impunity, violate the revenue laws, there will be an end to negro-catching in the free States for the benefit of slave-masters.

Mr. Lincoln has written here advising the Republicans not to relinquish their principles, no matter what the consequences may be, and the fact that he has so written has a most excellent effect upon the timid and compromising members of the Republican party now in Congress. Should Crittenden's resolution be reported to the Senate, it will get but two or three Republican votes, if it gets one. At present the cotton States Senators unite with those of the free States in rejecting it, and unless there is a prodigious change, it cannot pass.

The secession of South Carolina is likely to be followed soon by the exit of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida. Georgia hesitates, and so does Louisiana. North Carolina, at present, is opposed to a new Confederacy, and some of the Alabama Congressmen here assert that it is exceedingly doubtful what her course will be. Should it become evident that no compromise has a chance of success in Congress, should this fact be certain within a month, doubtless six or eight of the extreme slave States will secede. Buchanan will give them no trouble, but rather assist them on their way. Mason, of Virginia, it is said, expects an entire separation of the slave from the free States, and then *reconstruction*. The game is, first to destroy this Constitution, and then to get a pro-slavery Constitution adopted by offering a new Union to the free States upon this basis!

Pugh, of Ohio, just getting ready to give up his seat to Gov. Chase, made an infamous speech last Thursday in the Senate. It was nominally a reply to his colleague Wade, but was in point of fact a reply to Senator Johnson of Tennessee, who is an advocate of coercion. It was dough from beginning to end. He would not punish traitors in South Carolina, though he would hang any man in his own State who should make the slightest objection to the business of negro-catching. Despotic laws for the free States, and their execution at all hazards; but in the slave States, exemption from taxation, and treason to be encouraged and defended! This was the ground taken by this villanous lickspittle. The simple fact that such men live in apparent enjoyment of the good things of the world is sufficient proof that God is a being of infinite mercy.

Two of the South Carolina members are still in Washington, but they are expected to withdraw formally from Congress this afternoon. The South Carolina Commissioners will arrive in a few days, and Buchanan will receive them, thus acknowledging their position. Their propositions will be referred to Congress at once. It is to be hoped that it will either acknowledge the independence of South Carolina at once, or instruct the President to execute the laws there. A half-way policy is the worst that could be adopted. AVON.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WE have held meetings, since my last account to you, at Poland, North Gage, Newport, Trenton, Boonville, Clinton, West Winfield, Litchfield and Herkimer—also an interesting John Brown Anniversary meeting in Utica, some account of which you have already published. In all the above places, except North Gage, two meetings have been held, attended by Susan B. Anthony and myself, and, in several, three and four, attended also by Rev. Beriah Green. All have been good and profitable meetings, and some of unusual, stirring interest. Mr. Green is speaking grandly. He is listened to with a deep and hearty interest. It is timely, that in these days of general agitation and anxiety lest the "dear Union" be irretrievably lost, that his voice, so powerful on the right side, should be more widely heard. In some of the places, to gain access to the "people," who are everywhere good listeners, we have had to push aside, out of the way, the leading politicians and ministers. In several instances, these conservators of "public opinion" have manifested a decided preference that we should have no hearing in their midst. Our success is largely due to the indefatigable efforts of our General in the war, Miss Anthony, of whose heroic, persevering characteristics you know something.

At Poland, we had large and attentive audiences, in the Freewill Baptist Church. The pastor, one year over from the New Hampshire "Democracy," gave us a rather cold shoulder. Dr. Brown (a brother of Rev. Antoinette Brown) shared in the deliberations of the meetings. We were cordially welcomed by, and are much indebted to Mr. Isaac Howe, and Deacon May, of Poland. The meetings at North Gage, and at Newport, were less numerously attended, but excellent in spirit and influence. At Trenton, a very "wide-awake" town before the election, even those most interested in the anti-slavery movement were at first disinclined to have meetings. But our forces were upon the ground, and under the direction of Miss Anthony, the "way" was made "open," and the meetings proved spirited, interesting, and were well attended. On the second evening of the meetings there, the Hon. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, then on his way to Washington, was among our auditors. Mr. Green's speeches in these meetings were among the most powerful and telling of any to which I have ever listened. We were very cordially entertained in the families of Dr. Giteau, and the Rev. Mr. Fanton (Unitarian). I am greatly indebted to Rev. Mr. Fanton, also, for a surpassingly beautiful and interesting winter view of the Trenton Falls. At Boonville, our meetings, I believe, were the first of the kind ever held in the place. We found one resident Abolitionist, Miss Helen M. Philleo, who gave us a cordial welcome, and generous, valuable cooperation. Miss Philleo has a large and flourishing school, and gave us the use of her commodious room for our meetings. The audience the first evening was fair in numbers, and somewhat increased the second.

J. ANNA RICE, of Worcester, Mass., introduced the exercises of the second evening by reading the beautiful anti-slavery hymn (Mrs. Follen's, I believe), "Where is thy Brother?" Though upon new soil, and our doctrines a new and strange gospel in that latitude, we were very attentively listened to, and found some warm and earnest sympathizers. One man who announced himself as "not exactly an Abolitionist," said he was a "red-hot Republican," and would do all he could for a Personal Liberty bill, and took copies of the petition, tracts, etc., for a thorough canvass of the community.

At Clinton we had two excellent evening meetings, largely attended; also two very good afternoon sessions. The meetings were held in the Methodist Church, the pastor of which was in attendance, and shared in a friendly manner, though not entirely agreeing with us, our discussions. The Rev. Lydia Jenkins (Universalist) preaches at Clinton, and with her husband, Rev. Mr. Jenkins, gave us a cordial welcome. We shared the generous hospitality of Prof. and Mrs. J. C. Porter, of the Clinton Liberal Institute, formerly of the New York Central College.

Our next meetings were held at West Winfield. They were held in the Free Hall, and were eminently satisfactory to our friends in that town, and were gratifying to ourselves. Large audiences were in attendance each evening, and manifested a more hearty and earnest sympathy than we have elsewhere found in the present campaign in this State. Much interest was expressed in our new Anti-Slavery Office in Albany, and contributions amounting to upwards of sixteen dollars were made in its behalf. A committee was appointed for Winfield, and several others for adjoining towns, to collect funds in aid of the Albany Office, and to receive and circulate our petition, tracts, etc. To Mrs. Green, in particular, and to Messrs. Bisby, Brown, and others, we are under many obligations for hospitality and efficient cooperation.

At Litchfield we had two very good meetings, which were held in the Free Church, located upon the summit of what is known as Jerusalem Hill—about the highest of the high lands of Herkimer County. We found it much colder here than in the valley of the Mohawk below, the snow deeper, and so drifted as to render the roads nearly impassable at some points. We were warmly welcomed at Litchfield by Mr. Curtis Ryder and family. But I must close this hasty notice of our meetings. Will make mention of our experiences at Herkimer, which were not of the most cheering or pleasing kind, in my next.

These days through which we are passing are vital with interest, and many events invite comment. What is to become of Wendell Phillips? The hounds of slavery seem to be growling more ferociously than usual upon his track. AARON M. POWELL.

December 17, 1860.

PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.,

Delivered in London, Nov. 26th, 1860.

Reported for THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

ON Monday evening, Nov. 26th, a Public Meeting, to promote the redemption of four young persons from slavery in Kentucky, was held in the Shaftesbury Lecture Hall of the Young Men's Christian Institute, Aldersgate street, London. After addresses from R. N. Fowler, Esq., Rev. Dr. Hamilton, Rev. T. West, and Messrs. Gross and Smith (two self-ransomed slaves), Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, who occupied the Chair, concluded the proceedings by an address, in the course of which he said:

The place in which we are assembled, the day on which we meet, and the object we are asked to promote, unite to awaken in my mind recollections of a peculiar nature. More than thirty years ago, I was a member of the City of London Literary Institution, then a very flourishing society, which embraced within its numbers 700 or 800 of the cream of the intellectual young men of this metropolis. The building in which we now meet was erected for our accommodation, and the late Lord Denman was our President. This theatre was the place in which our discussion class held its weekly meetings, and was generally largely attended by members and their friends. I can never forget the enthusiasm with which, at that time, we took up the question of negro slavery in our colonies, and debated it, by adjournment, night after night. I have at this moment before my mind, the scene presented on the last night of the contest—for there was a strong opposition to my proposition—when, at the close of the proceedings, I, as the opener of the debate, had to reply. I forget altogether what I said, but I know that my motion in favor of immediate abolition was carried by an overwhelming majority (cheers). So much for the place in which we are met. This day, twenty-five years ago, I was at St. John's, New Brunswick. On the 8th of November, 1835, and on a Sabbath day, when the inhabitants of the city of Boston were in their places of worship—eighteen days after a mob of 5,000 "gentlemen of property and standing" in that city had sought my destruction, and had nearly effected that of the noble WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON—I was at noon secretly conveyed to the wharf, and placed on board a small English vessel bound to St. Andrews, whither my friends compelled me to go, that my blood might not be spilt upon the soil of their country, for my life had for months been constantly in jeopardy, from the fury of a universally pro-slavery community. I had been denounced in the Message to Congress of the President, General Jackson, as a pestilent incendiary, and had been hunted, with my wife and children, from city to city, until I had to be secreted in the upper chamber of a house belonging to an estimable Quaker family of the name of Southwick. I this day lighted upon a letter, written at the time, by Theodore D. Weld, which describes the state of things at this period. Mr. Weld was one of the anti-slavery students who left the Lane Seminary because the Trustees and Faculty prohibited the discussion of slavery. He was, for some time, one of the most eloquent and effective agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Speaking of the awful crisis, he says:

"Congress and State Legislatures are in debate on questions vital to the existence of the liberties of the people—the right of discussion; of petition; of the freedom of speech and of the press; of the public mail; whether Constitutions shall be the *charters* or the *mockeries* of rights; whether law shall be a reality or a nullity. Where are we? Robberies of the mail, perpetrated by its official guardians! Mobs, headed by judicial officers! Constitutional assemblies of the people broken up by violence, while judges and members of Congress preside on the occasion, and officiate during the ceremony! Municipal authorities appeasing the wrath of a phrenzied rabble, by the violent seizure of private property, and sacrificing it as a peace offering! An innocent citizen seized in bed at midnight, gagged, threatened with mutilation and death, and dragged from the house by a score of ruffians! Another chased down in the streets of a city, and dragged about with ropes at noon day! Another, and he a stranger, on an errand of love, hunted like a beast of prey from town to town and city to city, by a ferocious multitude eager to lap his blood! All this, and a thousand times more, in *free* States, and law mute, and public sentiment, with loud acclaim, shouting its ecstacies over the whole! While these outrages are enacted at the North, thousands at the South, no longer content with the robbery of individual rights, are making a desperate clutch at the rights of a nation, and waging deadly strife to wrest Texas from Mexico, to make it a slave market! Would that these were the only signs of the times, black with baleful portent. But no! The Church of God not only lays upon his altar robbery for burnt offering, but, now she waxes bolder in impiety, and summons her Great Head to prove that the imbruting of his image is a virtue, and she blasphemously craves his aid in the process, and his benediction in the result—claiming that the traffic in the purchase of atoning blood, and to make merchandise of the temple of the Holy Ghost, is homage to God, obedience to the law of love, an imitation of the patriarchs and apostles, and well pleasing to the Holy One."

Almost on the very day when this letter was written, Mr. Edward Everett was elected Governor of Massachusetts. That gentleman, when a member of Congress, had declared that there was no cause in which he would sooner buckle a knapsack to his back, and put a musket on his shoulder, than the suppression of an attempt, on the part of the slaves, to gain their freedom. He had, at the same time, declared that slavery was neither irreligious nor immoral, and that the slaves were better off than the peasantry of some of the most prosperous States in Europe. Such was the man chosen by the people of Massachusetts to be their Governor in 1835. In his inaugural message to the Legislature, he appealed to the patriotism of the people to put down the discussion of the anti-slavery question, as likely to prove the rock on which the Union would split, and recommended that those who said anything calculated to excite discontent amongst the slaves, should be held to have committed an offence against the peace of the Commonwealth, and should be prosecuted for misdemeanor at common law! For this pro-slavery zeal, Mr. Everett obtained his reward, by being sent as United States minister to the Court of our Sovereign! Such was the state of public sentiment in Massachusetts a quarter of a century ago.

This same Edward Everett was, within three weeks of the present time, a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Republic, on the ticket which nominated John Bell, a Tennessee slaveholder, for the office of President. I will now, for a few moments, refer to the result of the Presidential Election, as it will illustrate the mighty change which the anti-slavery efforts of twenty-five years have produced, and will also show you in what estimation Mr. Everett is now held as a politician by the people of his native State, who, in the days of their pro-slavery blindness and bigotry, raised him to the office of their Governor. There were four aspirants to the honor of election to the chair first filled by the illustrious father of his country, George Washington. Each had been nominated by a National Convention. Two were Democrats, but belonging respectively to different sections of that great pro-slavery party. One was a representative of the old Whig party of the country, and one was the nominee of the Republican, or non-extension-of-slavery party. The most ultra of the Democratic party sought to elect Mr. John C. Breckinridge, already the Vice-President—a haughty, eloquent, Kentuckian slaveholder—the representative of Southern democracy, pure and simple—the *alter ego* of Mr. Buchanan—the embodiment of the spirit and policy of the present administration—the champion of "the equality of the States" and the right of the slaveholder to the protection of his human chattels in the National Territories, and wherever else the jurisdiction of the Federal government extends. His competitor for Democratic votes was Mr. S. A. Douglas, the inventor of the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty"—the repealer of the Missouri Compromise—the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, an accomplished demogogue, a man of vast energy, and well skilled in electioneering tactics. A third candidate was Mr. Bell, a Southern old line Whig—a Senator, a slaveholder, a man of moderate opinions, but loyal to what are called the constitutional rights of the South. The fourth candidate was Mr. Abraham Lincoln, a man of humble origin, the orphan son of a citizen of Kentucky, brought up by his widowed mother in Indiana; at an early age a farm laborer, then a rail-splitter, then a boatman on the Mississippi, then a shopman, then a soldier, then a lawyer, then a Member of Congress, then a successful advocate at the bar, and, in 1858, a candidate for the Senate of the United States. This gentleman was nominated at Chicago by the Republican Convention, and was supported by men of all political parties opposed to the Slave Power of the South. Mr. Lincoln was the outward and visible embodiment of the political anti-slavery sentiment of the free States. On the abstract question of slavery he differed from the rival candidates by openly avowing that the system is essentially wrong, thereby confessing that its abolition would be morally right. He stood, however, by the Compromises of the Constitution, but at the same time by the ordinance of 1787, which limited the area of slavery. What has been the result of the contest which was decided by the popular vote of the 6th? Mr. Lincoln is the President-elect of the United States (loud cheers). Douglas and Breckinridge divided the votes of the Democratic party; Bell had the support of the middle party in the South, who regard disunion with abhorrence, while Mr. Lincoln gathered up in the free States the suffrages of all opposed to the future domination and supremacy of the Slave Power in the government of the country and the control of the Territories. Out of 303 Presidential Electors returned to the Colleges, Mr. Lincoln has secured 169, giving him a clear majority over those elected to vote for his three opponents of 35 (cheers). While many of the States have done nobly, Massachusetts has excelled them all, herself included. In this small State, Mr. Lincoln had a majority over Mr. Breckinridge of 98,395; over Mr. Douglas of 72,460; and over Messrs. Bell and Everett of 82,450; and over all put together of 42,301 (cheers). A Governor of the State was elected at the same time, and the person nominated by the Republicans was a distinguished Abolition lawyer of the name of Andrew, who had for many years been conspicuous for his efforts in the anti-slavery cause, and was not afraid to take the chair at a meeting of sympathy with the family of John Brown, held on the evening of the 2d of Dec., 1859, the day when the hero was executed. This gentleman vanquished his three pro-slavery opponents by majorities of 96,011, 78,723, and 67,708, with a clear majority over all of 38,838 (cheers). Let me guard you against expecting any early or positive anti-slavery action on the part of Mr. Lincoln or his government. He will take office with a majority against him both in the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the States at large he is in a numerical minority. With the exception of a few thousand votes, the united South is opposed to him. He is elected by the majority of the votes cast for him in the free States, and goes into the chair the representative of a section only of the community. As far as he has avowed a policy, it is conservative, and he will be constrained to make it more so by the circumstances which will surround him on his installation. He is pledged not to impair the efficiency of the Fugitive Slave law—not to act against slavery itself where it exists—and not to encourage the agitation of the abolition question. But he is bound by the platform he has adopted to use all his efforts to prevent the extension of slavery into the Territories—to stop the abuse of the American flag in the prosecution of the slave trade, and to admit Kansas as a free State into the Union. Less for what this victory will immediately effect, than for its importance as an indication of the changed public opinion of the free States, I call upon you to rejoice in it, and to join with me in giving all honor to those who have been the instruments in bringing it about. First amongst the pioneers in the glorious work stands my heroic and devoted friend, Mr. Garrison (cheers), who was the first man in New England, thirty years ago, to unfurl the flag of immediate emancipation. To him and his coadjutors, women as well as men, we owe the altered complexion of public sentiment in America; and to him and them, under God, we must look for the carrying on of the great work of national moral regeneration on the question of slavery. We must look to those who hold the simple and uncompromising truths of abolition, and in all seasons promulgate them in their length and breadth, without regard to prevailing opinions in Church or State. The late election has been but the seed time; let us pray that the precious seed which has been sown may, with careful culture, spring up and bear a hundred-fold, and that four years from this time we may be permitted to celebrate a far more glorious achievement in the cause of humanity and freedom than that which we now hail (cheers).

THE PHILADELPHIA DOUGHFACE DEMONSTRATION.—The Philadelphia *Sunday Mercury* denounces the late Union-saving demonstration in that city in unqualified terms, and denies that it represented the feelings and opinions of the majority of the people. We give a brief extract:

"We thank the Power that gave us our manhood, that the sordid spirit of gain has not devoured all the honor, dignity, decency and principle of Philadelphia, and that the lust of trade has not yet converted our people into a community of servile cowards. We rejoice that the concession demonstration of Thursday was the most solemnly played farce of the season. The object of that movement was thoroughly understood from its inception to its culmination, and just as thoroughly repudiated all the representations, of the daily press to the contrary notwithstanding. Bunting was displayed in starry and striped profusion. A few shaky merchants closed their stores, and a Lincoln locomotive builder for the South sent all his workmen (Lincoln men) to the meeting, in order to advertise his shop. But a great majority of the business establishments continued open and active as usual, thus showing their disapproval of the proclamation of the Mayor. The meeting in Independence Square was, at no time, as large as some of the partisan demonstrations during the recent campaign, and wherever we moved among the crowd, we heard enough to convince us that hundreds were present who had no sympathy whatever with the movement. The 'enthusiasm' was confined to a party of individuals who crowded in front of the stand, among whom we recognized a number of Southern students and employees in the Navy Yard and Custom House."

ANTI-SLAVERY DISCOURSE.—The Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, Pastor of the Third Reformed Presbyterian Church, worshipping in Twenty-third street, delivered a discourse on slavery last Sunday evening, in reply to the pro-slavery sermon on "The Character and Influence of Abolitionism," lately preached by the Rev. H. J. Vandyke, Pastor of the First (Old School) Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn. Mr. Sloane, we understand, invited Mr. Vandyke to a public discussion of the subject, but that gentleman prudently declined taking up the gauntlet, preferring to discuss the subject under arrangements forbidding reply before those who listen to his arguments. We went at an early hour to hear Mr. Sloane, but found every inch of space in the church occupied, while hundreds were going away disappointed. Those who were so fortunate as to hear the discourse assure us that it was an unanswerable argument against slavery and its apologists, and we have heard the suggestion that it deserves to be repeated in a larger building—say in the Church of the Puritans. The rush to hear Mr. Sloane shows how the popular pulse is beating.

BAYARD TAYLOR'S LECTURE ON "MAN AND CLIMATE."—A friend in Philadelphia writes as follows:

"I heard Bayard Taylor's lecture on Races last Thursday evening (Dec. 20). It assigned the highest place in the scale to the Caucasian, and the lowest to the African (excepting, I believe, the native New Zealander). He uttered no *caveat* against the *natural*, not necessary, inference from his facts, that the black man, being so far inferior in capacity, must be content to serve. The fact is, that was understood to be the moral intended. The lecture was entertaining and instructive, but was not enhanced by the slightest dash of humanity or generosity. Warm personal friends of Taylor deplore its deficiency in this respect, and regard the sentiments it contains on the subject of the African as cruelly inopportune."

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS IN THE EMPIRE STATE.

WE invite the particular attention of our readers in the State of New York to the announcement in another column of a series of Anti-Slavery Conventions, to be held in various places from Buffalo to Peterboro during the month of January, culminating in the Annual State Convention at Albany, early in February. The claims of the cause at this eventful crisis ought to be sufficient to secure a general attendance of these Conventions on the part of all the friends of freedom living in their vicinity, even if there were the promise of the presence of only *one* of the corps of speakers whose names appear in the advertisement; how much more, then, should all those whose hearts are touched by a sense of the slaves' wrongs, and who earnestly desire to contribute something to swell the tide of Public Sentiment, by which alone, under God, our national crime and curse can be removed, eagerly crowd the assemblies in which, while enjoying perfect freedom of speech themselves, they will be sure of hearing three or four able and eloquent anti-slavery champions. Abolitionists of the Empire State! you owe it to yourselves, and still more to the cause you profess to love, to make glad the hearts of the faithful laborers who have appointed these meetings by your own prompt attendance as well as by your zealous efforts to secure the attendance of your neighbors and friends. See to it that the meetings are thoroughly advertised among all classes of people, that suitable places for holding them are provided, and all needful preliminaries seasonably attended to; and having done this, let neither snow, rain, frost or mud prevent your attendance. You would think meanly of the lecturers if they were to plead such obstacles as an excuse for non-attendance; you should not be less ashamed to plead them in your own behalf.

The circumstances under which this campaign of anti-slavery labor in the Empire State will be carried on are such as should encourage the friends of the cause to renewed and vigorous effort. We witness in passing events the unmistakable fruits of our labors in past years, and find in them at the same time new incentives to perseverance in the work we have undertaken. We need to gather ourselves in public council, to consider our responsibilities, to compare views and experiences, to renew our pledges of fidelity to freedom, and to devise more efficient plans of labor for the future.

THE VOICES OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

COLD COMFORT FOR THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

THE Secessionists of the South, while plotting for a new slaveholding Confederacy, have flattered themselves that they would be able, by the power of "King Cotton," to override the anti-slavery convictions and sympathies of England and France, and enter at once into such commercial arrangements with those countries as could not fail to give their government a foremost place among the great powers of the world. The voice of the English and French press, however, in view of the secession movement, has dispelled this dream of the Slave Oligarchy, and made it clear that a government founded upon slavery, and seeking to extend and perpetuate that hateful system, must expect to encounter the reproach of the whole civilized world. We have before us numerous extracts from British journals, for which we regret that we cannot find room in these columns. They contain such sentiments as the following:

"We are persuaded that the North have little to lose by the change, the South everything. With their scanty white and powerful slave population, deprived of the aid of the North in case of a negro insurrection; with their commerce and manufactures, which, compared to those of the North, are as one to ten; with the eternal black incubus weighing upon them, from which the North would be for ever freed; *with the feeling of the whole world against them; standing alone in their assertion of a principle which Christianity and civilization have condemned*, the Southern States of America—abundant in land, bankrupt in everything else—would sink rapidly to a lower and lower level, till they had become as degraded as Mexico. The North might, if they chose, coerce them by superior force; or they might leave them to themselves, which would be so much the worse for them."—*London Daily Standard.*

"Let not the Southern States deceive themselves; their iniquitous proprietorship will not endure for ever. Either all the slaves will, in course of time, run away, leaving no one to till the soil; or, should they remain and multiply, the tables may in the end be turned, and we may some day be appealed to in a pathetic remonstrance on behalf of the white slaves of the Southern States of America, groaning under the lash of negro taskmasters. The end of slavery must come, be it sooner or later; meanwhile, let the brave-hearted Abolitionists of the United States rest satisfied that they have the warmest sympathy of Englishmen, who venerate their heroic zeal even when they cannot commend their prudence. The writers who pretend that the national feeling [of England] on this subject has undergone the slightest modification, and that the free men and women of this land, awaking to the conviction that the negro slave is 'not in misery or in more degradation than is almost inseparable from labor,' are gradually beginning to look upon the infamous system which crushes him with a certain degree of tolerance, utter a foul libel, which their countrymen repudiate with loathing and contempt."—*London Morning Star and Dial.*

"The Northern States can regard, without much apprehension, this contingency. They are strong, prosperous and wealthy, and they have not a servile population of four millions to restrain and keep in order. But what will be the condition of the planters of the South? Extension of slavery will only increase their risk and danger. The negro population will go on swelling, until at length, in Carolina, and in the new Confederation of the South, the scenes of Hayti may be re-enacted, and all form and semblance of settled government be obliterated. They would in vain appeal to that support from the North which at present would be given if a servile insurrection should break out in any part of the Union."—*London Post.*

"Can any sane man believe that England and France will consent, as is now suggested, to stultify the policy of half a century for the sake of an extended cotton trade, and to purchase the favor of Charleston and Milledgeville by recognizing what has been called "the isothermal law, which impels African labor toward the tropics" on the other side of the Atlantic? Will the suspension of payments in specie improve the credit of the recusant States, and will an independent administration prove an economical expedient to States who have hitherto borne a very small share of the public burdens? These are considerations that may be drowned in the passions of the hour, but which will, we still believe, assert themselves as the movement becomes more regular and orderly. Let there be no mistake as to English public opinion on this subject. If we have paid a sincere homage to the rising greatness of America, it has not been to that which the Southerners are so anxious to conserve, but to that which they are striving to destroy. All that is noble and venerable in the United States, is associated with its Federal Constitution. It is not the demonstrations of Southern ruffianism in Congress, or the fillibustering aggrandizement of the South, from the Mexican annexations downward, or the Fugitive Slave law, or the Dred Scott decision, or the Kansas-Nebraska act—it is not these, or any other triumph of Democratic insolence during their ascendancy of half a century, that has commanded the sympathy and admiration of Europe. We have judged these things leniently, as the actions of great men and great nations ought to be judged, because we knew the perilous conditions under which so mighty an enterprise as the civilization of America must of necessity be carried out, and have confidence in the practical good sense of the American character."—*London Times.*

We might fill many columns with extracts equally pertinent and equally discouraging to the hopes of the South. *Punch* raises a laugh at the expense of the slaveholders, by a picture in which a slave is seen handing to his master a newspaper announcing the election of Lincoln, and asking with an air of triumph, "Hab you seen de papar, sar?" Underneath the picture is this paragraph:

"In consequence of the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States (bravo, horray, O my brothers!), it is announced that South Carolina, in an ecstacy of slave-owner's rage, has ordered a solemn day of humiliation, on which all the slaves in the State are to be flogged, and all the copies of the Scriptures burned. Moreover, she calls a Convention, and declares that she is going to separate from the Union, and be an independent State, and have representatives of her own at the Courts of Europe. We hear that her first demands on England are, that to show our sympathy in her hate of the President, Lincoln Cathedral be pulled down, the county of Lincoln be re-christened and called Breckinridge County, that all Lincoln and Bennett hats be immediately smashed in, that Lord Lincoln be transported, and that when *Falstaff* in the play speaks of thieves in Lincoln green, he be ordered to say 'President Lincoln's black thieves.' Anything to please the lovely Carolina."

The Southern papers have boasted of the influence which a slaveholding Confederacy would have in France, and of the eagerness likely to be exhibited by that country to ally herself therewith. The following article will show how little real foundation there is for such boasts:

HOSTILITY TO A SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

From *La Presse*, of Paris, Dec. 4.

* * * * France cannot be otherwise than proud to find her protection claimed or her alliance sought by all oppressed nationalities, and it is her interest and her glory not to fail in any of the obligations that her high position imposes upon her. But in the present case (that of the proffered alliance of the Southern States) the question of independence is complicated by a question of slavery, and the one flings an unhappy shadow over the other.

France, who abolished slavery herself, cannot even seem to protect it in other countries. Such an idea even would do her a serious injury. The Americans of South Carolina must, then, be persuaded that if ever they obtain from the French government the moral support that they demand, it will not be as proprietors, but in spite of their being proprietors of slaves, and by virtue of the principle, acknowledged for thirty years, that all governments *de facto* shall be recognized by the governments of Europe and America.

* * * * * * * * *

France will never lay herself open to such a course. She ought not to allow the Southern States to deceive themselves in this matter. She cannot even lend such consent as silence may afford; her duty is to labor with all her power to prevent a dissolution. There ought not to be for us, on the other side of the Atlantic, either Southern Americans or Northern Americans, but States whose union is important to the equilibrium of the world. The American marine is not less necessary to France than the Russian, Spanish and Italian navies, to prevent a single power from seizing the empire of the seas.

France was the first ally of the United States—we hope that she will now be their counsellor, and expose the abyss into which they are hurrying—an abyss in which will be buried forever a Past most glorious and a Future most hopeful. For the American Union separation is *suicide*; it is the murder of a great nation and a great principle. France cannot lend a hand to this suicide and this murder. She has helped to make this people—she will never help to destroy them.

Such are, we are convinced, the sentiments of our government.

NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN THE EMPIRE STATE.

THE time has arrived when the friends of freedom in the Empire State are called upon to make a new and vigorous effort to procure the enactment of a statute that shall interpose an effectual barrier to

Miscellaneous Department.

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

Champion of those who groan beneath
Oppression's iron hand,
In view of penury, hate and death,
I see the fearless stand;
Still bearing up thy lofty brow,
In the steadfast strength of truth,
In manhood sealing well the vow
And promise of thy youth.

Go on!—for thou hast chosen well;
On in the strength of God!
Long as one humath heart shall swell
Beneath the tyrant's rod,
Speak in a slumbering nation's ear,
As thou hast ever spoken,
Until the dead in sin shall hear—
The fetter's link be broken!

I love thee with a brother's love—
I feel my pulses thrill,
To mark thy spirit soar above
The cloud of human ill;
My heart hath leaped to answer thine,
And echo back thy words,
As leaps the warrior's at the shine
And flash of kindred swords!

They tell me thou art rash and vain—
A searcher after fame;
That thou art striving but to gain
A long enduring name;
That thou hast nerved the Afric's hand,
And steeled the Afric's heart,
To shake aloft his vengeful brand,
And rend his chain apart.

Have I not known thee well, and read
Thy mighty purpose long,
And watched the trials which have made
Thy human spirit strong?
And shall the slanderer's demon breath
Avail with one like me,
To dim the sunshine of my faith,
And earnest trust in thee?

Go on!—the dagger's point may glare
Amid thy pathway's gloom—
The fate which sternly threatens there
Is glorious martyrdom!
Then, onward, with a martyr's zeal—
Press on to thy reward—
The hour when man shall only kneel
Before his Father—God!

THE PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER.

Pontifical supremacy was, from the beginning, of a spiritual nature only. After the fall of the Western Empire, and the reconquering of Italy by Belisarius and Narses, Rome, though enjoying a preeminent position among the Christian churches, held but a low secular rank among the principalities of Italy. The city and its adjacent territory were governed by a prefect, appointed at Constantinople, and subject to the exarch of Ravenna. About the year 720, Leo, the Isaurian, engaged in his crusade against the Iconoclasts, or image-worshippers; the then pope, Gregory III., attempted to induce the emperor to relax in his severity; finding Leo deaf to argument and entreaty, he boldly declared Rome independent of the empire, and offered the consulate to Charles Martel. He formed an alliance with the Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, and the king of the Lombards; an alliance of but short duration, as far as the latter nation was concerned. Their king, Astolfo, invaded the duchy during the pontificate of Stephen II., who, seeing no other means of ridding himself of the Lombards, invoked the aid of Pepin the Younger, in the name of the church and of the dukes, counts, tribunes, and people of Rome. Pepin quickly responded to the appeal: drove Astolfo out of the exarchate, and made him deposit on the altar of St. Peter's, at Rome, the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Urbino, Forli, and fifteen other towns, the government of which Pepin, to the great indignation of the Greek emperor, handed over to the Holy Church of God and the Roman Republic. Astolfo broke the peace, immediately Pepin's army had retired, for which bad faith he was punished by being compelled to add the city of Comacchio to the papal dominions. From this time (726) the popes assumed the language of temporal sovereigns, and dated their rescripts by the years of their own pontificates. Still the papal rule was more nominal than real. The Lombards were the actual masters of the ceded towns, till Charlemagne finally overthrew their power; but this does not seem to have much altered the position of the pontiff, as the conqueror kept all the regal rights to himself; and although again and again besought for the good of his soul to fulfil his promises in favor of the church, the most he did was to allow the see to receive the revenues of the exarchate.

When the imperial sceptre passed from Frankish into German hands, the temporal influence of the church was still further lessened, and we find Henry III. nominating popes as regularly as Queen Victoria nominates Anglican bishops. Gregory VII., a bold, enterprising, energetic man, taking advantage of the minority of Henry IV., resolved to free the pontificate from its subservience to the empire; and at his instigation, a council assembled at Rome declared that henceforth no layman could confer any clerical office. Astute as he was bold, Gregory gained over to his side many of the German princes by pronouncing the empire to be an elective not an hereditary monarchy. A fierce and lasting contest arose between the empire and the papacy for supremacy: the pontiff was again and again driven from his capital, and forced to see anti-pope after anti-pope elevated to the apostolic throne. In 1102, the Countess Matilda, an enthusiastic supporter of Rome, left to the pope her fiefs of Parma, Mantua, Modena, and Tuscany; but they were immediately seized by the emperor, and with the exception of the first named, never came under the papal rule. A century later, Innocent III. persuaded the towns of Spoleto, Foligno, Gubbio, Rieti, Perugia, Assisi, Nocera, Citta di Castello, Todi, Fermo, Osimo, Fano, Jesi, Sinigaglia, Camerino Pesaro, and Ancona, to swear allegiance to the see of Rome, and guaranteed the inviolability of their municipal charters.

In 1278, Rudolph of Hapsburg, at the instance of Pope Nicholas, formally defined the States of the Church as extending from Radicofani to Ceperano, near the Liris, on the Neapolitan frontier, and as including Perugia, Bologna, Bertinoro, the duchy of Spoleto, the exarch of Ravenna, and the march of Ancona. The inhabitants were absolved from their oaths of allegiance to the empire; Rudolph renouncing for himself and successors all rights over the said places, and acknowledging the sovereignty of the pope. This sovereignty was little more substantial than a title of courtesy. Perugia, Ancona, and Bologna were republics, and many of the other towns hereditary principalities, in which the influence of the pope was of the slightest; and even this hold became weakened by the seventy years of Avignon exile. Poor, however, as the papacy might be in temporalities of its own, it was powerful enough over those of other people. An English monarch did not scruple to humiliate himself and his subjects by holding his kingdom as a fief from the pope; a king of Aragon resigned his realm to the pontiff; and a foreigner was inducted into the throne of Naples by the hierarch of Rome.

Sextus IV., having to provide an appanage for a nephew, cast his eyes upon the beautiful and fertile plain of the Romagna, a prize for which various Italian princes were then contending. By dint of intrigue, perjury, and murder, Sextus attained his object, and had the satisfaction of flailing Girolamo Riario lord of Imola and Forli. In a few years, Sextus made way for Alexander VI., and Girolamo left his principality to his widow. She did not long enjoy it. She was driven out of the Romagna, and Cæsar Borgia reigned in her stead. Alexander the infamous, and his yet more infamous son, joining the Guelph faction, drove Sforza from Pesaro, Malatesta from Rimini, Manfredi from Faenza, and installed themselves as masters in those cities. Not content with thus spoiling their foes, the worthy couple next turned their arms against their allies. The Duke of Urbino had to flee for his life; the chiefs of the Orsini party were entrapped and assassinated by Cæsar, and their territories added to his ill-gotten dominions. The death of Alexander wrought a change. The old lords of the land, the Colonnas, Orsinis, and Malatestas returned to Italy, and recommenced their internecine strifes. The Pope, Julius II., bent, not on family aggrandisement, but on enriching the papal see, seized Borgia's dukedoms and castles, pacified the lesser nobles, and waged war on the more powerful ones. Perugia, Bologna, and the Romagna were speedily annexed to his dominions. Old and enfeebled as he was, Julius took the field in person against the Venetians, and crossing the frozen ditches of Mirandola, drove the enemy from the coast, and, thanks to his Swiss and Spanish troops, made himself master of Parma, Piacentia, and Reggio. Parma was afterwards severed from the Papal States by Paul III., who bestowed it on his son; but before he died, he again reunited it to Rome: to be finally disjoined by his successor, Julius III.

The Venetian envoys, who travelled through the States of the Church in the early part of the sixteenth century, are loud in praise of the fertile and beautiful territory which acknowledged the representative of St. Peter as its master. "We travelled from Macerata to Tolentino, through a district of surpassing loveliness. Hills and valleys were clothed with grain; throughout an extent of thirty miles, nothing less rich might be seen. Uncultivated land we could not find for the breadth of a foot." At this time, the Campagna not only supplied sufficient grain for the use of the capital and its neighborhood, but aided the adjacent states, and even supplied foreigners from its abundance. Nor were other productions wanting. Perugia was famed for its hemp, Faenza for its flax, and Vicenbo for both: Montefiascone and Cesena were noted for their wines, Rimini for its oil, Bologna for its woad, San Lorenzo for its manna, and the Campagna for its breed of horses. The lakes abounded with delicious fish; and alum, salt, sulphur, and marble enriched the owners of the soil. The harbor of Ancona was crowded with vessels from the Levant, and its city with merchants from all quarters. The martial reputation of the States was also great: the people of Perugia made steady soldiers: the inhabitants of the Romagna were as brave as they were improvident; the Bolognese full of courage, but neglectful of discipline: the warriors of Faenza were both firm in fight and swift and untiring in pursuit; those of Forli excelled in manœuvring, as the dwellers in Fermo surpassed all others in the use of the lance. In fact, the whole population were martially inclined, and apt in the use of the weapons of war. Venice drew her best troops from among them, and they boasted that they could supply all the princes of the world with captains of tried valor and skill.

Destruction threatened the temporal power of the pontificate under Leo X., when by the defeat of the Swiss at Marignano, the Papal States lay at the mercy of the French king. Leo proved equal to the emergency; against the advice of his council he sought an interview with Francis, and by sacrificing Placentia and Parma, secured the remainder of his dominions, and delivered Italy for a time from the presence of the French soldiery. The pope, placed as he was between the rival powers of France and the Empire, had no easy game to play, and Leo's policy was more wily than honest. When war broke out between Charles and Francis, he could no longer remain neutral, but naturally sided with the former, and just lived long enough to receive his reward, by recovering the lost provinces for the papal see. Gregory XIII. wrested Castelnuovo, Corcana, Lonzano, Savignano, Bertinoro, and Verrucchio from their hereditary rulers. In 1598, the House of Este were compelled to resign Ferrara, Comacchio, and their portion of the Romagna: and forty years afterwards, on the death of the aged Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria, Taddeo Barberini at once seized upon his principality, and annexed it to the States of the Church, much to the indignation of the inhabitants, to whom the change was anything but agreeable; the year 1650 saw Ronciglione and the duchy of Castro added to the pope's territories; and here the catalogue of annexations ends.

The French Revolution did not spare the Holy Father. In 1797, General Bonaparte constituted the Cisalpine Republic, making Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forli members of the new confederation. In 1801, the Legations were restored to the pope, but only for a short period. Napoleon having resolved to erect a kingdom of Italy, marched on Rome, and declaring that temporal sovereignty was incompatible with the exercise of spiritual power, formally annexed the ecclesiastical states to the French empire, and Pius VII. became virtually a prisoner in France, and was forced to accede to his conqueror's demands. The pontiff patiently watched events, and bided his time. Every reverse sustained by Napoleon was a step towards the pope's deliverance from bondage. At length the opportunity came, and Pius lost not a moment in declaring his concordat with France to be null and void, and in making his way towards his dominions, which he reëntered while the allied armies were marching triumphantly into Paris. By the treaty of Vienna—thanks to the three great anti-catholic powers, Russia, Prussia, and England—the pope received back his territory almost intact, a few insignificant portions of it on the left bank of the Po, which were alienated from the ecclesiastical states by the valley of that river having been constituted its boundary, being the only territorial loss; but Austria reserved the right of recruiting in Comacchio and Ferrara.

In 1830, the people of Ancona and Bologna, rendered desperate by clerical misgovernment, rose in insurrection, to succumb to an Austrian army which was speedily marched to the pope's aid. The grievances of the subjects of the church were, however, so palpable, that even Austria united with the other great powers in recommending Gregory XVI. to reform the most flagrant abuses, by admitting laymen to the exercise of judicial and administrative functions. The only result of this interference was a slight modification of the municipal law; and the Bolognese again rose against their rulers. This second insurrection afforded a pretext for massacring the inhabitants of the offending city, and for a fresh advance of Austrian troops, to balance which, a French force took possession of Ancona, and thus commenced the system of occupation. Ancona was freed from its unwelcome protectors at the end of six years, and the Austrians at the same time withdrew from the Legations. In 1846, Pio Nono ascended the pontifical chair, and electrified the world by the appearance of a pope in the character of a political reformer. The liberal ideas promulgated by Pius so displeased Austria, that she moved her troops into the Papal States; but upon a remonstrance being addressed to the European powers on the subject, the white-coated legions were ordered home again. For awhile, Pius persevered in the path of progress, and his name seemed likely to become the watchword of the peninsula; but, bullied by his neighbors, and alarmed by the rapid spread of revolutionary movements in Italy, after the success of the Parisian insurrection in 1848, he lost courage, and halted when he should have pressed forward. At such a time, to hesitate was to be lost. The people rose, and the apostolic vicar fled from his subjects in the meanest of disguises, while a republic was proclaimed at Rome. How that republic struggled against the forces of false France, despotic Austria, priest-ridden Naples, and effete Spain, is too well known to need recapitulation. Its fall left an indelible stain upon the leaders of the French republic—a blot not all the special pleading of a Montalembert can obliterate. Pius IV. returned to his dominions the hated protegé of France. For ten years he has held his throne by the precarious tenure of foreign bayonets. Like his Bourbon neighbor, experience has rendered him no wiser; and, like him, he is now reaping the whirlwind. Day by day, the temporal possessions of the see of Rome are being absorbed in the new kingdom of Italy, and he may esteem himself fortunate if he is able to leave his successor so much as the capital of the long-held States of the church.

The *Stato Pontificio*, before Victor Emanual incorporated the Romagna, possessed a population of 3,124,178, occupying an area of 16,155 English square miles, and was divided into twenty provinces. In some of these provinces, oranges are cultivated to perfection; in others, the hills are seldom seen without a covering of snow, so different are the climates of the various members of this ill-conditioned body politic. In the plains of Rome, there is no lack of figs, citrons, oranges and pomegranates; cherries, chestnuts and walnuts abound in the Apennines; the cork tree flourishes in the woods of Terracina, and the forests supply the pope's subjects with fuel. Wheat, maize and barley are produced in sufficient quantities to allow of exportation; but then little is kept for home consumption, the masses finding a substitute for bread in beans, chestnuts and onions. With the exception of an occasional piece of bacon or sausage, animal food is rarely eaten by the poorer population, although sheep, goats and swine are numerous enough in the States. Flax, hemp and saffron are cultivated to some extent, and the raising of cotton is rapidly spreading. The olive grows everywhere. The vine is also to be found in almost every part, but so carelessly cultivated, that the wine produced in the Roman territory bears no great reputation. Oxen are universally used for the plough; the ass and mule are the common beasts of burden in the Apennines; the country was once famous for its breed of Borghese horses, but the race is well-nigh extinct, and the trade quite so. The cows are the most favorable specimens of the animal kingdom to be found, and may be seen roaming freely about the Campagna: their owners finding their profit in selling their calves to the butcher, rather than transforming the milk into butter and cheese. Silk forms an important item in the agricultural statistics of the papal patrimony, the soil being particularly adapted for the white mulberry. Bologna, which once held a monopoly of the crape trade, is the chief seat of the silk manufacture. The states also produce paper, leather, linen and woollen cloths; glass, pottery, tallow, wax candles and artificial flowers; alum, saltpetre, culinary salt, and sulphur. The exports in 1853 amounted to £1,659,950, the principal items consisting of hemp, wheat, maize, rice, silk thread, cattle, works of art, cordage, fish, furs, skins, stone and building materials: the imports being close upon a million in excess of the exports. Ancona is the principal trading port: in 1857, there were entered inwards 684 vessels, of 110,704 tons; and 652 vessels, of 104,786 tons, entered outwards.

This country, by no means maltreated by nature, is governed, or misgoverned, by an unlimited elective hierarchy, administered by a Council of Ministers under the Cardinal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and presided over by the pope. There are separate ministers for the interior, for grace and justice, for finance, for war, for police, for commerce and public works, and for fine arts, who are usually ecclesiastics or prelates, although laymen may be chosen for any of these offices. The word "prelate" needs a little explanation. With us, it is necessarily synonymous with "ecclesiastic": but at Rome, a prelate means any man possessed of the degree of doctor of law and a small independence, who chooses to enter the prelature, which entitles him to employment in the pontifical household, with the chance of becoming nuncio, delegate, governor of Rome, or even cardinal. These gentlemen are styled Monsignore, and as long as they retain the office, must not think of taking a wife. The cardinals, limited to seventy, are appointed by the pope, styled Princes of the Church, and constitute the Sacred College, which meets in secret conclave ten days after the death of a pope and elects one of its members to the vacant chair, a majority of two-thirds being requisite to make the election valid. There are three classes of cardinals—cardinal bishops, of whom there are six; cardinal priests, to the number of fifty; the remaining fourteen bearing the lowlier title of cardinal deacon.

The judges of the land are appointed by the pope, and removable at his pleasure. Each province has its tribunal, with courts of appeal at Rome, Macerata, and Bologna, and a still higher court at Rome called the Corte della Signatura. The proceedings are open to the public, excepting in the case of trials for political offences, when the prisoner can only be defended by the official advocate, and is not allowed to see the witnesses against him, or even to know the nature of the evidence upon the refutation of which his liberty or life depends. Such is the infallible priest's idea of justice. Ecclesiastics can only be tried by ecclesiastical courts, which possess the power of imprisoning any person on the ground of immorality—a power in such hands terrible indeed.

The Papal States boast of two primary and six secondary universities, the oldest of which is that of Bologna, dating from 1119. Episcopal towns have their schools for educating for the Church, and the more prosperous communes rejoice in primary schools under the direction of the parish priest. Education, of course, is entirely in the hands of the clergy, and, as a natural consequence, the lower classes of the pontifical States are, with the exception of the population of the Two Sicilies, the most ignorant of any in Italy. The church is the curse of the land: within the limited area over which Pio Nono was called to reign, there are no less than nine archbishoprics and fifty-two episcopal sees. Six hundred nunneries and 1800 monasteries are spread over the states, which harbor 8000 nuns, 21,514 monks and friars, and 16,905 priests. Rome itself numbers 1800 nuns, and 4,500 priests, monks and friars among its 178,500 inhabitants.

The revenue of the popedom, according to an official return for 1857, amounted to £3,009,524, the expenditure during the same period being £3,104,692, leaving an acknowledged deficit of £95,168; but with such a pecuniary position the papal financialists are well qualified to deal, for, since 1828, the Roman government has never, even for a single year, lived within its income.—*Chambers's Journal.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

IN CHURCH.

BY PHŒBE CARY.

Mine is the sunshine, dropping sweet
Upon a world of Sabbath calm,
The solid earth beneath my feet,
The swell of nature's morning psalm;

The privilege to-day to be
Where faithful worshippers repair;
The comfort and security
Found in this pleasant house of prayer.

Yet anxious thought with worship blends;
My heart is rocking to and fro
Upon the trackless deep, with friends
Whose way I cannot see, nor know.

So, Father, while the anthem flows,
While words of prayer are on my lips,
I bring unto thy altar those
Who go down to the sea in ships.

If dangers come, or fears invade,
O, may they hear his "Peace, be still!"
Who walked upon the sea, and made
The waves obedient to his will!

MRS. STOWE ON THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

We think no state paper so remarkable has ever appeared from a Chief Executive in this country—perhaps in any other country.

The cool, decisive manner with which the President, all through a certain portion, identifies himself with the Southern States, and speaks with perfect *naïveté* from their point of view, is the first striking feature.

The coolness with which he turns round upon the Northern States, and charges upon *them* the whole guilt and responsibility of the extravaganzas now going on in the South, is another feature.

The coolness with which, from first to last, he ignores the existence of any moral and religious sense as forming any component element in regulating national movements, is another and very striking one. "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God," said David in his time. David had not seen the bottom of atheism. The fool he speaks of had, it seems, raised the question. It had occurred to him as a possibility. It was left for the nineteenth century to show a specimen of a state paper, proposing to a Christian nation to become, more formally than ever they had been before, robbers, kidnappers, and pirates—without betraying through a line that a God had ever been heard of in America—unless it be in certain customary rhetorical phrases at the close.

The South is all in an uproar, he tells us—they cannot sleep nights for fear of servile insurrection, and, of course, somebody is to blame for this, and something must be done. Who is to blame?

There are four million men and women—some of them black, and some of them white—whom the Southern law, systematically, and with logical accuracy not to be misunderstood, has stripped even of the name of human beings, and declared not persons but things; they cannot sue or be sued—they cannot buy or sell—they cannot own a foot of land—they cannot form a legal marriage—they cannot own or educate their own children—their family loves are all accidents of bargain and sale—they cannot learn to read or write—they cannot raise a hand against the will of any white person who may choose to insult or dishonor themselves, or wives, or children, on pain of death; and yet, among this mass of struggling, repressed human life, are multitudes of men—more vigorous, physically, than their masters—with all the energy given by the constant habit of work—with all the fire and pride which comes from being born of white fathers; and, thus repressed, the South herself is constantly tampering with and stimulating them to insurrection.

What are these madmen now doing, as they sit on their powder magazine and fire hot shot to right and left?

In the theatres of South Carolina they are singing in the ears of an impressible nervous people, who are quick to catch both tune and words, that furious Marseillaise which seems to breathe the very roar of a wild and angry mob of barbarians. They forget who listens while they sing:

"Oh! Liberty, can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeon bolts or bars confine thee,
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?"

Is it credible that these words can be allowed to go ringing and echoing in the ears of plantation slaves? and then is the North coolly to be told in state papers that the South cannot sleep for fear of servile insurrections, and that it is *her* agitation on liberty that is the reason?

It is not the fault of the South—no. It is not the laws which forbid marriage which agitate—it is not the rending of families which agitates—it is not exposing four million human beings without legal protection to any insult which four million others may devise, that agitates—it is not forbidding education and improvement which agitates—it is not the having a class of white sons and daughters in their houses, whose talents and beauty are marketable, and who with all the pride of their masters, are exposed to all the insults of the slave—it is not this that agitates!

It is not that with all this outraged, struggling, abused mass around, they go round roaring the Marseillaise in their ears, and advertise them in public speeches and private conversation that Lincoln's election is likely to break *their* chains, (we wish it were). It is not the murderous, brutal barbarism which tars and feathers, burns alive, hangs up without judge or jury, and afterwards tries, which causes excitement. No; none of these tend to servile insurrection—not a bit of it—it's the North; the wicked, truculent, horrid North, who are constantly declaring things they have no business to in sermons, magazines, poems, and speeches.

The North keeps expressing an opinion on such delicate points as adultery, robbery, piracy, kidnapping. They are not convinced yet, and don't seem likely to be, that these are reputable courses. The North will hold that a man is a man—that all men were created free and equal, and have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The North holds that it is wicked to forbid marriage to a whole community; that men ought to have rights to their wives; that it is a shame to sell children from their parents' arms; that it is a greater shame for a man to sell his own sons and daughters. They have these opinions in common with all civilized nations, and mean to act upon them—and the President thinks it is the defending of such ideas as these has made all the difficulty.

The remedy he proposes is quite as remarkable. He says, "After all, the Constitution gives only such an ambiguous foothold to this state of things, that it is impossible to convince the majority of the North that it supports them all. The way to do is to alter the Constitution of the United States so as fully, freely, and clearly to admit and legalize slavery, and agitation will cease."

Agitation cease! It reminds us of an anecdote of an old black slave-woman calling herself "Sojourner Truth," who sat in the front ranks once in an Abolition meeting, when Frederick Douglass, fired with the wrongs of his race, and the despairs of the white race, declared that there was neither hope nor help for the slave but in their own right arms. In the pause that followed this appeal, Sojourner lifted her dark face, working with intense feeling, and said, in a low, deep voice, which was heard in every corner of the room:

"Frederick, is God dead?"

Let that old black slave-woman's question ring through this nation, as then it rang through Faneuil Hall! To all who hope or dream to put down agitation by a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell, old Africa rises, and raising her poor maimed, scarred hand to heaven, asks us—

"Is God Dead?"

—*Harriet Beecher Stowe, in The Independent.*

WHY NOT GO TO THE SOUTH?

I am sometimes asked, Why do you not go South and say these things there? For various reasons. The South is like a mephitic cave, and free speech dies in it. There is less liberty in Charleston, to-day, than at Rome. Liberty of conscience and of speech are more respected in Vienna than in Mobile! Pulpits are short-lived things in the South that dare mean liberty in good earnest. Would any one stand in a dragon's mouth to teach humanity? What a commentary upon our times, that, for no other offence than a love of liberty, I am shut out of almost half the territory of my native land! It would be safer for me to visit the hungriest cannibal nation on the globe, than to go into either of the ten or twelve slave States of my own country! And they are rather savage humorists who ask why we do not choose a gallows for our pulpit! We are very fond of trees; but trees with halters dangling from their boughs are not favorable for ministers of the gospel who believe in God, and hate the devil and all his works. Northern apologists of slavery, with exquisite sentiment, inquire why we will stay where we are safe? why we do not make haste South, to take possession of the graves dug and waiting? No. We shall not go South. Engineers plant their batteries over against the camp, not in it. I preach to more Southerners in Brooklyn than I should in Carolina, and with a great deal more convenience to myself. The Christian public sentiment of the North is the only moral power which can reach the South. Southern statesmen have forsaken the Constitution and its doctrines. Southern pulpits are corrupted. Southern Churches are nests of infidelity, not of the letter, but of the whole spirit of the gospel. And the best way of preaching there is to preach faithfully *here!*

Summer does not come from the ground. It moves upon us from distant spheres. And a Christian public sentiment *outside* of the South, and moving upon it, will carry summer to it.

If any person should emigrate, methinks it should be those chaplains of Pharaoh, who seem to think that the world is yet in Egypt; that Moses was an impostor, and emancipation a crime against good government. There are some men who, whenever born, are born before the flood, and who, living as long as they may, never get further down than that period of early civilization, when men, having been accustomed to kill all their prisoners in war, were shocked at the fanaticism of humanity that compelled them to save their lives and employ them as servants rather!

The Mohammedan looks forward to a paradise of houris. The Indian fondly hopes for fresh hunting grounds and innumerable scalps. The Scandinavian dreams of revel and rapine. But Northern pro-slavery ministers doubtless hope for an immortality in the tombs of Egypt, where in darkness they shall drone congenial theology to the mummies of a thousand generations! No. I shall stay where God placed me. I shall not go South to die vertically. Ordination is very well, but they have a way of laying on of hands, in the South, not conducive to eloquence.—*H. W. Beecher, in The Independent.*

PAUL REVERE'S RIDE.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

Listen, my children, and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five:
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend—"If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry-arch
Of the North Church tower, as a signal-light—
One if by land, and two if by sea;
And I on the opposite shore will be,
Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
For the country-folk to be up and to arm."

Then he said good night, and with muffled oar
Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,
Just as the moon rose over the bay,
Where swinging wide at her moorings lay
The Somerset, British man-of-war:
A phantom ship, with each mast and spar
Across the moon, like a prison-bar,
And a huge, black hulk, that was magnified
By its own reflection in the tide.

Meanwhile, his friend, through alley and street
Wanders and watches with eager ears,
Till in the silence around him he hears
The muster of men at the barrack-door,
The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,
And the measured tread of the grenadiers
Marching down to their boats on the shore.

Then he climbed to the tower of the church,
Up the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
To the belfry-chamber overhead,
And startled the pigeons from their perch
On the sombre rafters, that round him made
Masses and moving shapes of shade—
Up the light ladder, slender and tall,
To the highest window in the wall
Where he paused to listen and look down
A moment on the roofs of the town,
And the moonlight flowing over all.

Beneath, in the churchyard, lay the dead
In their night-encampment on the hill,
Wrapped in silence so deep and still,
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,
The watchful night-wind, as it went
Creeping along from tent to tent,
And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"
A moment only he feels the spell
Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread
Of the lonely belfry and the dead;
For suddenly all his thoughts are bent
On a shadowy something far away,
Where the river widens to meet the bay—
A line of black that bends and floats
On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride,
On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.
Now he patted his horse's side,
Now he gazed on the landscape far and near,
Then impetuous stamped the earth,
And turned and tightened his saddle-girth;
But mostly he watched with eager search
The belfry-tower of the old North Church,
As it rose above the graves on the hill,
Lonely, and spectral, sombre and still.

And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's height,
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,
But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight
A second lamp in the belfry burns!
A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed that flies fearless and fleet:
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

It was twelve by the village clock,
When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.
He heard the crowing of the cock,
And the barking of the farmer's dog,
And felt the damp of the river fog,
That rises when the sun goes down.

It was one by the village clock,
When he rode into Lexington.
He saw the gilded weathercock
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,
And the meeting-house windows, blank and bare,
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,
As if they already stood aghast
At the bloody work they would look upon.

It was two by the village clock,
When he came to the bridge in Concord town.
He heard the bleating of the flock,
And the twitter of birds among the trees,
And felt the breath of the morning breeze
Blowing over the meadows brown.
And one was safe and asleep in his bed
Who at the bridge would be first to fall,
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket ball.

You know the rest. In the books you have read
How the British regulars fired and fled—
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
From behind each fence and farmyard wall,
Chasing the red-coats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

So through the night rode Paul Revere;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm—
A cry of defiance, and not of fear—
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door:
And a word that shall echo forevermore!
For, borne on the night wind of the Past,
Through all our history, to the last,
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,
The people will waken and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof-beat of that steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

Liberty of Speech.—In the long run, nothing is safer than liberty of speech; and the way to make it less and less noxious, is to make it more and more free. Your very tea kettle ought to teach you this. For when there is any obstruction in the spout, the steam drives off the lid; and if it cannot drive off the lid, nor escape through the spout, the tea kettle will explode; and the way to avoid such a catastrophe is to allow the steam to pass off freely. Therefore take lessons from your fireplace. When a man is full of boiling feelings, he must blow up unless he can give them vent. The safety, under such circumstances, consists in free expression. Men say, "Oh, this endless talking, talking, talking!" Why, talking is the doctor that God sends to men's tempestuous passions; and if men talk enough, we shall be safe. But in the conflict of opinions, in the interchange of views, in a great community, in a great nation, acted upon by ten thousand diverse influences, it is impossible that all men should think alike; and if you undertake to bind one another's tongues; if the North say to the South, "We will speak, and you shall not"; or the South say to the North, "We will speak, and you shall not," it cannot be but that disastrous results will follow.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

A Woman among the English Lawyers.—A remarkable suit is on trial before the London Court of Divorce, in which a young lady is allowed to conduct the case for her father. Mr. William Shedden, a native of New York, of Scotch descent, seeks to prove his own legitimacy, and thus to obtain his rights in certain estates of his paternal grandfather. He had engaged eminent counsel, but when the case was called, the counsel asked for delay because they had not prepared themselves. The judge decided that the case could not be postponed, and the lawyers, after earnest expostulation, indignantly left the court. The judge was about to proceed to the trial, with this disadvantage against the plaintiff, when the daughter of the plaintiff stepped from the audience down among the lawyers, and modestly asked the permission of the court to appear in behalf of her father. The judge was struck with astonishment and admiration, but assented to the novel request, and the young lady, who had made herself familiar with the case in all its legal bearings, proceeded to state it with a clearness and power, and a modest self-reliance, that put the professional attorneys to the blush. She occupied the whole day in the opening plea, and made a decided impression, and in the examination and cross-examination of witnesses on the subsequent days, she proved herself fully competent to the task she had undertaken.

It appears that the grandfather of the plaintiff, and great-grandfather of the young lady advocate, owned the estate of Roughwood in Ayrshire, Scotland. The father of the plaintiff emigrated to Virginia in 1770; he was a loyalist during the Revolution and lost his property; he afterwards went into business in Bermuda, and subsequently returned to New York and resided there, where he was twice married. The plaintiff was the fruit of the second marriage, and it was to prove the fact of his father's marriage with his mother, which was denied, that the suit was brought.

Miss Shedden had the warm sympathies of the court and of the British public, and was likely to get her case. She said in her opening plea, that she felt that some prejudice might arise against her for having thus come forward to defend the character of her grandmother; and an apprehension might be entertained lest, in an age when so much was said of woman's rights, other ladies might be induced, by her example, to plead their causes in person. But she felt it was impossible that her example could ever have many imitators. In the first place, she was conscious her case was a wholly unprecedented one; and she felt also, that the appalling difficulties which she had to face, and the painful position in which she found herself, were such, that few of the great sisterhood of English women would venture upon so arduous a task.

But suppose Miss Shedden should be imitated? If there are other women who can plead their own cause, or the cause of a friend, before a court, with the ability of Miss Shedden, why should they not do it? The ability to do any work well vindicates the right to do it, and all talk about appropriate spheres is aside from the merits of the question.—*Springfield Republican.*

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